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ART. I.—*Letters written by Eminent Persons, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*: to which are added, Hearne's *Journey to Reading and to Whaddon Hall, the Seat of Brown Willis, Esq. and Lives of Eminent Men*, by John Aubrey, Esq. The whole now first published from the originals in the Bodleian Library and Ashmolean Museum, with biographical and literary illustrations. 3 vols. Octavo. pp. 1000. £1. 11s. 6d. Longman and Co., 1813.

GREAT BRITAIN is probably the only country in the world, which has exhibited the regular progression of a body politic from comparative despotism to freedom, through the legitimate operation of parties, of the genuine growth of the soil; or, in other words, by a healthful collision of the different views, interests, and opinions, which necessarily spring up in a large community. It has been the peculiar good fortune of our island, that, for upwards of two centuries, all these have had life, language, and action; that, from the Reformation to the present hour, no exertion of power, no effort of persecution, has been effectually able to repress the liberty of thought and speech among us. The result in a national sense, it is unnecessary to dwell upon; the increased power, energies, and influence of Britain, at once evince the benefit of an open public mind, and stigmatise the shrinking and apprehensive policy which would brand the human intellect in order to govern it. The happy effect of the

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early adoption of a few broad and general principles, and of their felicitous development, is as obvious in the individual, as the nation. An Englishman, however low his rank, considers himself, and therefore is, a being politically existent. Lifted above mere labour, he seldom fails to indulge sentiments and imbibe partialities, that connect him with past times, and inspire him with a lively interest in every thing which has tended to make the present what they are. On this account, the most simple epistolary remains, the briefest original notices of men, who have been any way conspicuous or respectable in England, interest succeeding generations to a degree, which the natives of countries, less politically distinguished, find it difficult to comprehend. In a free country, to obtain celebrity, or even station, without discovering a bias in favour of some of the leading distinctions, religious or political, is always difficult; but during a long and momentous period of our history, the administration of the Stuarts, it was clearly impossible. Such reliques, are, therefore, generally illustrative of some stage of the national progress in sentiment, if not in fact, but generally in both; and, consequently, are relished with avidity by a high spirited people, who, under every partial aspect and division, identify themselves with that progression. Of the existence of a taste for trifling anecdote, and minute detail, independently of all political predilection, we are fully aware; but to whatever extent it may be carried by mere collectors, and dealers in the unique, we are satisfied that the great majority of our positive readers are interested in the closet documents of their ancestors, by their public principles only. While this is the case, the rage for original primers and identical Tom Thumbs, which, in many, exceedingly resembles the passion entertained by their honourable and venerable grandmothers for fine china, may be allowed to pass. That this excess of what is fashionably termed Bibliomania may have been of some service to literature, we are willing to admit; but firmly believing that time to have gone by, we are exceedingly glad that the fortune and leisure required for its indulgence must necessarily confine it. If an extreme attention to rare nothingness, like the attachment of our pious ancestors to true crosses and saintly toe-nails, is to supersede the soul and essence of what it sprung from, we would have it so, only in degree. Hitherto, in the pursuit of privilege, our most honourable mental characteristic has been a sound and masculine appreciation of utility. With a due allowance

for the province of imagination, it is desirable it should remain so. We all know the French are the most frivolous people in the world, that an entire metropolis will divide and go to war on the merits of an actress; the English laugh at them with great justice—and then gravely sit down and write books on points of equal importance that occurred five hundred years ago.

Whatever may be the fate of our reasoning as applied to extreme cases, with respect to the publication of selections like that under consideration, it is unanswerable. Set aside political associations in the mind of the reader, and we can scarcely conceive any thing more absolutely nugatory than the volumes before us. They must indeed be smitten with a lilliputian order of facts, who, for facts, can relish collections the refuse of Anthony à Wood, or, for incident and observation, resort to the journals of Thomas Hearne. The letters are of more consequence; but even these derive their sole interest from being perused referentially, with a feeling of the writers and the times. Most of them, (and we scruple not to say it is the chief reason of our notices of them,) were written about the period of the revolution, chiefly by members, either actual or *ci-devant*, of the university of Oxford. When we observe that many of the correspondents were jacobites and not a few nonjurors, we are not speaking in disparagement; since a conscientious adherence to principle, merits respect in all cases. But, with every charitable disposition towards the memory of the disappointed favourers of unlimited prerogative, and boundless ecclesiastical pretension in the seventeenth century, we must be allowed to express our surprise at the existence of a similar infatuation in the nineteenth. Some of the notes of the Editor are of so peculiar a complexion for the present time of day, that we fear sympathy can only be expected from a few visitors of the Bodleian. Allow this gentleman to speak the sense of his university, and Oxford is pathetically lamenting the destruction of monasteries, precisely when the Czar of Muscovy, at the head of his Slavonians, is proclaiming the necessity of wise and liberal institutions *adapted to the times*:—dreaming of passive obedience and divine right, when all the civilised monarchs of the earth are beginning to admit and perceive the benefit of an established reciprocity even to themselves. This is like waking from a nap after dinner, in the

years 1715 or 45. The order of reverie is utterly harmless we allow, yet still we do not like to think that people exist for whom nations roll away, and generations are cut off, in vain. Something less than the overthrow of a kingdom once or twice a century, with all the concomitant evils of civil war, anarchy, and military despotism, ought to convince the most prejudiced that *de facto*, if not *de jure*, sovereigns are accountable beings; and that if they will not reign in the interests and affections of their subjects, they must hazard the penalty of not reigning at all. What is still more extraordinary, the danger seems to increase as the world grows older; and to designate, in a greater degree, the dark and ignorant period which followed the accession of George the third, than those wise and flourishing times when Europe was covered with monasteries, and the work of pious occasion was continually advancing, unimpeded by sacrilegious statutes of mortmain, or impious acts of resumption!—But to the book.

The first communications worthy of particular attention, contain a curious account of the personal conduct of James II. at Oxford, in the affair of Magdalen College. The extreme infatuation of the regal bigot was as astonishing as the firmness and consistency of the college were exemplary. The resistance he met with, in a quarter which carried the favourite principles of his family to their greatest extent, would have opened the eyes of any but a Stuart, to the danger of the career in which he had embarked. The following letters from Dr. Sykes, and Mr. Creech, the translator of Lucretius, describe very calmly the expulsion of the fellows and the unkingly demeanour of the king, who, in the spirit of his grandfather and namesake, talked and acted throughout the whole business more like an offended schoolmaster at a 'barring-out,' than the monarch of a great people. The wonder of the courtiers, at the possibility of disobedience to a crowned head, is expressed with great naïveté: it is a kind of astonishment that exceedingly infects courts. Their recommendation with regard to wit was evidently misplaced, it should have been given to their master.

'SIR,

Novemb. 16, [16]87.

'I HAVE received all your letters, and give you my hearty thanks for them, and this having been a day of action here, I send you what

I can hear in requital. About eight o'clock this morning the visitors sate at Magdalen College, and after a long speech from the Bishop, the Fellows were called, and their answer required whether they would subscribe a certain paper offered to them; the substance of which was, that they should acknowledge their fault for resisting the King thus long, and as a testimony of their repentance, acknowledge the Bishop of Oxford for their lawful President, and promise obedience to him; which was refused by all to whom it was offered, that is 25 of them, and every one of them, upon that account, are deprived. This test was not proposed to Dr. Thomas Smith; I know not for what reason. And Mr. Thompson and Mr. Charnock said, they had no reason to subscribe it, because they did not oppose the King. These three are the only persons not deprived, except the absent, which were these following: Dr. Younger, excused by the Visitors themselves, as being in the Princess of Denmark's service. Mr. Maynard, and Mr. Hickes, such as it appeared by certificates. Mr. Smyth, the physician, absent upon travel; and Mr. Holt and Mr. Hollice, without any reason given, as far as I can understand. Hooper, the madman, and the vacancies, make up the rest of the compleat number. Before these proceedings, Mr. Allibone was made Fellow by the Visitors in Mr. Ludford's place, and Mr. Joyner in Dr. Fairfax's. Since the sentence Mr. Jeneser and one Higgins, Demies of the college, are also made Fellows; the last is an under-graduate. And Mr. Walsh and Mr. Whaly, both of Merton College, and kinsmen to the Bishop of Chester, are made demies, and Hill the printer's son. Some other of the demies were sent for, as it is surmised, to see if they would accept of preferment now it falls so plentifully; but if so, they have not accepted of it. The Demies drew up a paper, wherein they declared that they were of the same mind with the Fellows, for the same reasons; and one Mr. Holt, their Principal or Senior, offered it to the Visitors, who refused to receive it, telling him that he was a pert bold man, or to that purpose, and he might go about his business; so that they are like to be kept in against their inclinations. The Vice Chancellor was sent for to supper last night to the Visitors, but excused himself.

'It was desired by the persons concerned that they might have a sight of the paper to be subscribed, which was refused, and they [were] required to give their answer immediately, one by one, upon hearing of it read. It is coffee-house discourse to-night, that Mr. Joyner is Vice President. Three Under-graduates, Demies of Magdalen College, refused Fellowships. Mr. Vice Chancellor was sent for four times last night, and invited to dinner by the Bishop of Oxen to-day with the Visitors, but was not there. There dined together two Bishops, two Judges, the Dean of Ch. Ch., the Master of University College, Mr. Allibone, Mr. Joyner, Toyras Smith, T. C., the Chaplain, Byram Eaton, and some officers, of which it is supposed Capt. B., whom you know, was one. Preferment and wive was never more easy to be had.

'Mr. H. gives his service to you. If I had not scribbled this, you might have received a perfect account from him. On the other side Mr. Thornton and Mr. Goodwin were omitted among the absent. This was written piece-meal, and underwent corrections; therefore pray use your wonted candour to,

'Sir, yours.'

'The Dean of St. Asaph was here lately, and we did not forget your health. I have not time to write to every one; if you see him, it will be a favour to communicate this, with most humble service, though I suppose he receives from others a better account. Mr. Haslewood, a Chaplain of Magd. Coll., formerly suspected to be a R. C., refused a Fellowship.'

'Letter XXI.—Mr. Creech to Dr. Charlett. On the same subject.

'On Saturday, about five, he [the King] made his entry, between a line of scholars on one side and soldiers on the other. It was very solemn, without noise or shouting, and of the manner of it the printed papers give you an account. The same night news was brought to Magdalen College of the death of Mr. Ludford. Mr. Goreing (who told me this) put in for a mandate, and Mr. Collins did the like. His Majesty told Goreing he should have it when the College was settled; but that it was a rebellious society, and he would chastise them. On Sunday morning the King touched, Warner and White officiating; all that waited on his Majesty kneeled at the prayers, beside the Duke of Beaufort, who stood all the time. In the afternoon he went to Obadiah's, who presented him with three books, and Mr. Hales made him a speech, thanking his Majesty for the toleration, and that the reformation of heresy was begun first in that house; and though the waves and winds beat, yet their church was secure, being built upon a double rock, *Infallibility* and *the King*. The same afternoon the University presented their gloves and bible, and were well received; and Magdalen College, according to summons, waited with a petition; the King would not hear any thing, but told them that he expected to be obeyed, that they should shew themselves Church of England men (if they were such) by their obedience, and concluded, that if they did not go and elect the Bishop of Oxford presently, they should feel the weight of a King's hand. At this time the party triumphed much, and Bernard said that this was some satisfaction. *The courtiers wondered that they should pretend it was not in their power to obey the King, and bade them learn more wit.* In a little time they brought their answers to the Secretary (Mr. Tomson dissenting) that they were sorry that the King's commands could not be obeyed, and that to make such an election would be downright perjury. The Secretary told them this was a very unsatisfactory answer, and so the matter hangs. On Monday his Majesty was entertained at a very noble banquet in Selden's Library. When the scramble was permitted, he laughed and said Oxford was a merry place; and as he was

walking out he talked with the Vice Chancellor and Dr. South about preaching without notes. He said their church used none and recommended that way. At the door he spoke a great while to the Vice Chancellor, telling him that we had a great many ill men amongst us; that we should have a care of their example; that the clergy should be humble and moderate; that we should be charitable to our neighbours, good subjects, and not envy the good he did to others; with these words his Majesty left us.

On Monday Morning Mr. Penn, the Quaker, (with whom I dined the day before, and had a long discourse concerning the college) wrote a letter to the King in their behalf, intimating that such mandates were a force on conscience, and not very agreeable to his other gracious indulgencies. The same morning a Gentleman of the Bedchamber, with Charnock, brought a letter to the Vice Chancellor, requiring the degrees of Doctor of Divinity to be conferred on Mr. Collins, and Wiggins, the Bishop's Chaplains; and Bachelor of Laws, on Mr. Brooks, his Secretary. He was very earnest to have the Vice Chancellor, declare presently, whether it should be done or not; but the Vice Chancellor replied, he could not do it by himself, but he would call a convocation as soon as conveniently he could, and then an answer should be returned. Clarke, of Balliol, is come hither open enough. Mr. H. was very busy at court, bowing to this and to that man, and now, I believe, only stays for time convenient. Pray an humble hearty service to Mr. Dean, &c. and if you think fit you may acquaint him that his Majesty oftentimes mentioned the Bishop of Worcester with a great deal of kindness. John Buckley was here, and would have been glad to have seen you.

I am your humble servant,

Sept 6, [1617.]

T. CREECH.

There is a way of being respectably in the wrong.—In about ten months from this time the Prince of Orange embarked for England, and therefore in somewhat less than eleven, the ejected fellows were with great decency and majesty restored.—They must have felt very grateful, the following letter only speaks of their being very joyful.

Letter XXII. Dr. Smith to Sir William Hayward The ejected
Fellows of Magdalen College restored.

The Bishop of Winton came hither on Wednesday afternoon, and just lighted at the College gate, where we were all to receive him, and went directly to the chapel, telling us in brief that the next morning he would come down and restore us.

On Thursday morning, between nine and ten, we received him (being in his episcopal habit) according to his appointment, in our formalities at the College gate, and so attending upon him to the

chapel, one of the senior Fellows harangued him in a Latin speech. After which he read the King's order, directed to him, to restore the College, which, after the finishing of the morning office, which was performed very solemnly, he read a second time, and then proceeded to the hall, where, after some little pause, he called for the buttery book, and struck out the names of all the Popish Fellows and Demies (Charnock not excepted) and then called over our names, which he commanded to be inserted in the next blank page, whom he pronounced to be the only, true and lawful members of the society. One Mr. Jenifar and Mr. Higgons, formerly Demies, and made Fellows by the commissioners, are continued only Demies; in which the Visitor did very prudently, though some of our sparks and hot-spurs were troubled at it. This done, the Bishop made a Latin speech, every way becoming his function and character, which some hair-brained Fellows have forgot already: and so he adjourned the visitation till next morning. There was an extraordinary great dinner prepared for him in the lodgings, where was the Vice Chancellor, with all the noblemen resident in the University, with several Heads of Houses, the bells ringing all day, and at night great numbers of Bonfires; the like to which I never saw here before at any time.

'Yesterday morning little was done, but the reading the King's letter to the Visitor to allow fourteen days for the removal of such as came into our places; about seven of which Fellows and Demies Continue either in the College, or town, and to which we have ordered, by the Visitor's direction, two dishes of meat every day during their stay, in the way of a present. This morning we had again the Visitor, who caused an act or instrument of the whole procedure to be read by his secretary, who is a public notary, which is ordered to be ingrossed, and then dissolved the visitation.

'I say only in short, that never was Visitor received, with greater joy or with greater honour. I am convinced already, by some men's intolerable insolence, that there will be a very ill use made of this surprising revolution. I write this in my chamber here in the College, intending, God willing, to lie in it this night, having procured a bed, &c.

'Magdalen Coll. Oxon. 17 Octob. 1688. Saturday night.'

We have ever thought this affair of Magdalen College, considering the attachment of most of the parties, both before and afterwards, to the family who thus treated them, and that of the non-acquiescence of certain of the remonstrating and suspended prelates of James to the government of William and Mary, as proofs of rectitude and integrity every way honourable to the country which produced them. This is indeed the peculiar triumph of England; other realms may possibly vie with her for warriors or statesmen, but in a sound, disinterested, and

fearless attachment to ruling principles, her history furnishes more examples than that of all Europe put together. Nor is this the distinction of one party only, but of all; having been equally manifested by the enemies to the great cause of it, and by those from whose opinions it more naturally springs. The fact is, that although a Briton may occasionally suffer from the frown of power, or the persecution of party, he can seldom be overwhelmed by either. He is not that outcast of society from whom every one flies the moment he is disregarded on high. If his opinions are so eccentric that few can think with him, yet myriads will assert his liberty to think. To minds of a certain cast, the open approbation and encouragement which individuals occasionally receive, while under censure of the regular tribunals of their country, may appear alarming and indecent, and some few, without doubt, would have a star-chamber to punish the contumacy; experience has however proved, that while none but weak governments have occasion to regard it, the disposition from which it springs exalts us as a people all over the world; and, under due regulations, contributes as much to the essential power and majesty of the state, as to the benefit of the great mass of which it is composed.

The following fragment of a letter from T. Hearne to Brown Willis, Esq. receives the highest commendation from the Editor, for sentiments which do honour to the head and heart of the writer.

Letter CI.—T. Hearne to Browne Willes. On the Dissolution and Destruction of Monasteries.

‘I am mightily pleased with your transcript out of the Augmentation Office. The Pensions of the Abbots, both of Abingdon and Battle are large; nor are those of the monks inconsiderable. I look upon these pensions as evident proofs of the innocence of those places. I have not Burnet by me, at the writing this letter, so I cannot refer to the page where he allows of the argument. Yet I am sure he does allow it, and one that is so well versed as you are in our History cannot but quickly find it in him. He certainly wrote his History, as he hath done his other books, in post, or rather in Scotch, haste. The very same arguments he hath made use of against the Monasteries would have served against the Universities. It is no wonder that some ill men are found in all large societies. I do not doubt but the visitors were the most inveterate enemies that could be employed. And therefore, to be sure, they would in their Returns to the King, insert

all the stories they could rake up that sullied the reputation of the monks, and were likely to please the King, who was resolved to get their revenues into his own hands, and was for that reason very glad to encourage any person that was willing to lay open the characters of those men in the blackest terms that could be thought of. What Burnett hath offered against them, appears to me to be spite and malice. His proofs are weak and groundless. And I do not doubt but that if every monk's character were strictly and impartially examined, there is not one of them but what would appear more innocent and virtuous than any one of the Visitors, and it may be, than any one of their other accusers.

‘I would not be thought, from what I have said, to be an enemy to the Reformation. That is certainly to be commended so far as it was carried on with a design to shake off and extirpate those gross errors that had, by degrees, crept into the church; and so far the King himself is to be commended as he proposed that, in his opposing the Pope. But then, whereas the Reformation was carried on with a design also to destroy all the Abbies, and to take from them those lands that were conferred in the most solemn manner, this, certainly, ought to be condemned, and to be looked upon as the highest instance of sacrilege. As by it the King hath left behind him such a blemish, as will never be wiped off; and therefore my Lord Herbert might well conclude his *History* with a wish that he could leave him in his grave, which is a very excellent conclusion, notwithstanding very short, he having by his demolishing the religious houses, and by giving and selling the lands to lay persons, exceeded in sacrilege any particular prince that ever went before him. Nay, I question whether he did not exceed all the princes of any one single kingdom put together. I am very unwilling to speak ill of crowned heads; but what I have mentioned is so very notorious, that it is no secret, and therefore there can be no harm in speaking of it, even in the most public manner. When Christianity was first planted in Britain, the Reformers discovered plainly that what they did was out of a true principle of piety and devotion, and with a design only to propagate the Christian Doctrines, and not with an intent to enrich themselves. They therefore did not destroy the Heathen Temples, and other places of worship, but only converted them to a Christian use. Neither did they employ any of those things that had been appropriated to religion to a profane use; but decreed in a synod that they should continue for religious purposes to which they were originally designed, though, with this caution, that under the severest penalties, they should not be (as before) made use of upon any account, in promoting and advancing the Heathen, but only in carrying on and establishing the Christian discipline. Had King H. 8th imitated them, he had left, in this point, a very great and glorious character behind him. But in this he very unhappily failed, and the nation groans to this day for the sins that were at that time committed, not only by himself, but by the agents employed by him, particularly by the Visitors, who proceeded with

the utmost rigour and violence against the monks, and stuck at nothing that they thought would expose them, and would serve as an argument to the King for dissolving the Abbies and seizing on their lands and revenues, and afterwards employing them to such purposes as himself, by the advice of those Visitors and other enemies to the monks, should judge proper.

Admitting, at once, the sincerity and integrity of Hearne, what are the opinions in this letter to which laud is so much due? Why—that the riches and revenues of the suppressed monasteries should have been left in the disposal of the reformed church, for the carrying on of christian discipline. Of christian discipline!—now let us ask the editor candidly, whether the want of revenue has ever been felt by the church of England, or if the administration of her discipline suffers from the deficiency. We believe we might very safely appeal to three-fourths of the clergy themselves, and certainly to every one else, as to the dire consequences that would have followed such immense and growing property in the hands of any priesthood whatever. By those with whom Laud and Becket are no saints the question will be quickly answered. What the first of those aspiring churchmen and his brother prelates aimed at, in the height of their intoxication, would probably have been effected; and, in consequence, we might have been just now rousing ourselves from a sound sleep, like the good folks of Spain; or breathing, after the horrors of a revolution, with our new friends of France. So differently do we judge of the train of circumstances which threw these temporalities into lay possession, that we think it saved the country from a species of ecclesiastical tyranny and assumption as great, as unchristian-like, and as unrelenting, as that which dictated the massacre of St. Bartholomew, or revoked the edict of Nantes. Under the horrible regimen of Mary, the proprietors of those lands formed a strong and immoveable barrier to a re-establishment of popery in *fact*, however acquiescent both they and the majority might carry themselves in point of form. During the administration of Elizabeth they similarly assisted to keep down the spirit and intrigue which, for several years, the prospect of a catholic successor was calculated to inspire; and lastly, under James and Charles, the well founded apprehension that a resumption of these revenues and domains was not out of the con-

templation of Laud, added a weight to the combination against him and his views, which rendered them abortive, and would have saved a Stuart, if a Stuart could have been saved.

With respect to the temper and motives of Henry in suppressing the religious houses, we have nothing to observe; we never heard any one praise them, or who did not allow that much unnecessary harshness, and tyranny attended the execution of his will. As to the reasoning of the antiquary and his commentator, that the religious were not so vile and dissolute in their conduct, as their enemies represented, we think it very probable; but that they were disgracefully lax, and scandalous in their morals, and useless and nugatory in the service of religion, was not merely the voice of the king and his ministers, but of common fame, and if it had not been so, even Henry could not have carried it as he did. That abuse and oppression took place in the visitations we believe to be undeniable, but on what ground can the editor assert that the visitors were uniformly unjust to the characters of the monks, and nuns, when he himself exhibits a striking and honest instance to the contrary. The destruction of manuscripts and archives may very reasonably be deplored, but we fear it is paying too great a compliment to the species of erudition which abounded in the libraries of monasteries to consider the loss of it as countervailing the great and general benefit produced by their extinction.* But 'these endowments instructed the children of the wealthy, employed the mechanics and labourers, and relieved the poor.' To this we briefly reply, that the children of the wealthy have been respected quite as well ever since, that the lands of laymen require cultivation, and employ labourers and mechanics, precisely as much as if they belonged to the church; and that many hundred institutions of a much better and safer tendency,

* That Hearne should not think so, will not be wonderful to those who have studied the chapter on Hobby-Horses, and perused the following prayer found among his papers.—'Oh most gracious and merciful Lord God, wonderful in thy providence, I return all possible thanks to thee for the care thou hast always taken of me, I continually meet with most signal instances of this thy providence, and one act yesterday, when I unexpectedly met with three old M.S.S.; for which, in a particular manner, I return my thanks, beseeching thee to continue thy protection to me, a poor helpless sinner, for Jesus Christ his sake.'

relieve the poor in their place. As to the honest antiquary, who can be angry with him? It is quite clear that, in the time of king Harry, his enlarged view of things would have made him a martyr to the supremacy of the Pope. But, nearly a hundred years from the death of the said antiquary himself, to have soberly insinuated, that the world would be benefited by the church possessing about a third of the territory of the country to carry on the *discipline* of christianity, educate the children of the *wealthy*, (low Lancastrian schemes are out of contemplation,) and assume all the grace of the charity of the state, is somewhat too much. Those who best know the spirit of corporate bodies will never wish to see them great landed proprietors; however occasionally beneficial in other respects, they are sure to spread mental slavery all around them. Taken out of the common course of vicissitude and change, even that prudent and judicious management of estate which, in the individual, is at once beneficial to the weal and to himself, only renders them more positively injurious. In a word, the influential dominions of societies, whether miscalled of Jesus or not, is always baneful, because they are invariably closely interested, and never asleep.

The following letter of the celebrated and learned Hickes is not only curious in itself, but as exhibiting the kind of spiritual ambition and pretension which, under the management of the two Charleses, stocked our prisons with some of the honestest men in England, although of that dreadful opinion, alluded to by the learned Doctor, which set up the people and the laws, before the king or queen.

* *Letter CIII.—Dr. Hickes to Dr. Charlett. On the Ancient Manner of receiving the Eucharist.*

‘ REVD. SIR,

May 25, 1714.

‘ As to the question about the clergy’s precedency in receiving the H. Eucharist before the laity, I shall briefly state it first as to fact or practice, and secondly as to the reason thereof. As to fact, or practice, it always was the usage in the church for bishops, priests, and deacons, to receive the mysteries before the laity, and according to dignity or superiority for bishops to receive before priests, and priests before deacons. For when Churches were built in all places after the empire turned Christian, they distinguished the Altar-place from the nave of the church by *Cancelli*, or a rail about elbow high with a door in middle, and into this altar-place, called in Greek *Βήμα*, from an

ascent of two or three steps into it, and *Θυσιαστήριον*, from the Altar itself, no layman was suffered to enter to receive the H. Sacrament. But after the three orders had received it in the Altar-place by the Altar, then the deacons went down to the door to deliver it to the laity in order as I shall hereafter describe. In these ancient *Sacraria*, or Chancels, the Altar, which always stood towards the East end with seats behind it for the Bishop and Priests, had no rail before it as now, and of later ages in the Latin Church. But after Monasteries here came to be joined to Cathedrals and other great Churches, the religious orders performed their daily devotions in the Chancels, and admitted the people into them, and then railed in the Altar at the east end with a door in the middle of the rail, within which the clergy always communicated, before they delivered the mysteries to the laity. No layman in ancient times ever communicated within the *Cancelli*, but at Constantinople, where only they indulged the Emperor the privilege (to distinguish him upon the account of his royal dignity from other laymen) of receiving within the rail, insomuch that when *Theodosius* the Great, upon his admission to the H. Eucharist, (after the time of his Penance was fulfilled) went by mistake into the *Sacrarium* within the rails, St. Ambrose sent the Deacon to tell him, that that was not the place for laymen to communicate in, for though the purple made an Emperor, it did not make a Priest. The Emperor, upon this admonition, retired without the rail, or *Cancelli*, and there receiving among the laity, and no doubt first of all, upon the account of his imperial dignity, and his answer by the Deacon to the Bishop for his excuse was to this purpose; that having always received at Constantinople within the rail, he thought he was to receive so in all other Churches. I make no doubt but this precedency of the Clergy in receiving the H. Communion was the practice of the Church before, as well as after, the Empire turned Christian. And therefore proceed in the second place to give the reason of this practice; it is founded in the nature of the Church as a society, or spiritual corporation, whereof Christ is the founder, head, and chief priest or bishop, and the bishops, priests, and deacons in their several orders his ministers over the people, and by consequence their superiors in ecclesiastical meetings and matters, especially at the H. Eucharist, and all other meetings for worship. The Church in the N. Testament is called the Kingdom of God, and in that spiritual Kingdom, the bishops, priests and deacons are Christ's magistrates and officers in it in their several stations. The Church is also called an house, and a city, in which the Clergy are the governors, and the people the subjects, or governed, and in this spiritual superiority and subjection is founded the precedency of the Clergy in communicating before the laity, even before the King himself, and therefore her Majesty is in the right in making the Clergy receive before herself. The Church is also called the body of Christ, in which body or corporation the bishops under Christ are the supreme, and the priests and deacons under them the inferior officers, and the laity the members only. The Church is also compared to a

fold in which the people are the flock, and the bishops and priests the pastors, and therefore right of precedence in all holy offices and places, and in religious and other ecclesiastical assemblies, is founded in their spiritual superiority over the people, and by what names of dignity, bishops and priests are called in the scriptures and in the writings of the Ancients, I have shewed at large in my Tracts of the Christian priesthood and of the Dignity of the Episcopal Order. St. Ignatius's Epistles alone are enough to convince any man of the great and pre-eminent dignity and superiority of the three orders above the laity in the Church of God, and I shall conclude this part of my letter, when I have told you that in ancient times it was one of the greatest and most ignominious punishments of a priest to be reduced to lay-communion, or to communicate only among the laity, upon which account I think the clergymen who communicate among them, forget their own dignity, and in some sort degrade themselves. They also violate one of the most primitive rubricks of the Church, which requires that the officiating priest first receive the communion himself, and then proceed to administer the same to the bishops, priests, and deacons, if any be present, and after that to the people in order. And to say, that this looks not very decent, but as proceeding from ambition, is to impeach the Church, and take part with the Deists, and all other enemies of the Priesthood, who ignorantly or maliciously accuse the clergy of pride for this very practice. A practice of which my Lord Digby understands the reason, who as a learned, as well as a pious gentleman, knows his distinction from a ruler or magistrate of the Church.

‘I must also farther add, that as to the question, which I have here stated both as to the practice and reason thereof, that relates to the Church, and its spiritual rights, as a society distinct from the state: a notion to which Atheists, Deists, and the generality of Commonwealthsmen are averse out of hatred to the Priesthood, pretending, but most falsely, that it sets up *Imperium in Imperio*, and it is destructive to the royal supremacy, to which they themselves are the greatest enemies, *setting up the people and the laws above the King or Queen.*

‘The order of administering the H. Sacrament after the bishop, priests, and deacons had received, was I think this. Without the *Cancelli* they gave it first to the men, and then to the women. Among the men the Subdeacons, Readers, Chanters, and the Ascetics had the preference, and among the women the Deaconesses, Virgins, and widows. Then the Sacrament was delivered to the Boys, standing near the *Cancelli* with Deacons to keep them in order, and then to the people, beginning, as I conceive, with the Emperor, who had a distinct place of dignity by himself, and then to the great Magistrates, when they were present.

‘I think you were wrong not to assist the Parish-Priest for want of a surplice, the want of a surplice being a sufficient excuse in *foro ecclesiastico, et conscientiae*, for administering the service without one, espe-

cially in a large communion, when it was charity both to priest and people to assist. I would never have any clergymen govern himself by the practice of the Clergy in London, where I may say, as *Justinian* said of Rome, *Non quæ Romæ facta tam spectanda sunt, quam quæ fieri debent.* Certainly there are not more irregularities committed by the clergy in any part of the nation, than in this city.

‘I am now quite tired, and can write no more, but to tell you, I am very glad you have received great benefit by the waters, and to subscribe, as I always am,

‘Your most affect. faithful, and humble Servt.

‘GEO. HICKES.’

There are more letters of this nonjuror quite as characteristic;—one inquiring after the family of an individual who had been cured of the king’s evil by Charles I, at Holmby;—another detailing the bad success which attended the coronation of king James II, *viz.* ‘the tottering of the crown upon his head, and the rent flag hanging upon the White Tower over against the Doctor’s door, which flag was torn by the wind at the same time the signal was given at the tower, that the king was crowned,’ &c. &c. With instances of the extraordinary propensity of this tribe of politicians to the weakest and most miserable superstitions the present volumes abound, and afford an unequivocal proof that the connexion between learning and good sense is by no means necessary. Like Hotspur we are pestered with dreams and predictions, with signs, with wonders, and with prophecies,

‘And such a lot of skimble skamble stuff,
As puts us from our faith.....’

This kind of trash had been so used and abused by the most designing and ignorant of the gentry on the other side of the question, that one might have hoped the profound and informed, would have been led to despise it. Most omens indeed, in the opinion of Dr. Hickes, came by chance, ‘but some from superior intellectual agents, especially those which regard the fate of *kings* and *nations*?’ Such was the tone of mind of the general race of the more serious retainers of the Stuarts. Can it be wondered that, in the first place, they were obliged to yield to men who only pretended to their illuminations, and, subsequently, to those who never stultified themselves either by such credulity, or the pretence of it? The wretched figures, the most honest of this party always

made in real business was apparent from first to last. From the death of Elizabeth to the administration of the parliament, the foreign policy of Great Britain was the laughing stock of Europe; and the respect which an able Usurper inculcated anew, was as miserably lost by the rulers who succeeded him. Even the more recent exertions in favour of the dethroned race, were always marked by a similar want of talent. In a word, without a due proportion of knaves, this egregious party could never act at all; and with them they invariably hurried on to their own destruction.

There is another reflection of the Editor, on Carte the historian, which we cannot help observing upon. This author, it is presumed, took an active part in the rebellion of 1715, at least he was obliged to fly his country, and a reward of a thousand pounds was offered for his apprehension. Queen Caroline hearing a favourable account of his abilities and pursuits while in France, exerted herself to procure his safe return. In a seasonable time after he had published his life of the Duke of Ormond, and in a year or two more sent out proposals for a History of England, which met with almost unprecedented encouragement, the city of London in its corporate capacity, and many of the public bodies, formally subscribing. What followed,—a volume comes out, and in it a very pleasant note, stating the cure of one Christopher Lovel of the king's evil, by a certain person in Paris (the Pretender) by virtue and in pursuance of his divine right, in course. Was Mr. Carte punished for this absurdity? Yes. But how? Why the Whigs would subscribe no longer, and those who held authority and office under the family which had pardoned and patronized him, withdrew their names and encouragement. What was there to complain of in this? Are none to manifest attachment to their principles but Tories? Only two years before a second rebellion had broken out, but thanks to the 'intellectual agents who attend to the fate of nations,' having been conducted by similar heads and hands to the former, it failed accordingly. Yet with such a party and ferment in the country, it is complained that the silly passage of Carte did not escape without censure, nor its author without reproof. Our Oxford editor may term it prejudice if he pleases, but it was in fact, an honourable and spontaneous proof of the sense of the majority, and if Mr. Carte and his side of the question had sooner understood that sense, they might have spared themselves their then mortification, and the nation the blood and disturbance of 1745.

On the journies of Hearne we shall say nothing, because they afford us nothing to say.—‘While they display some proofs of the simplicity of his manners,’ says the advertisement, ‘they afford a proof of his invincible ardour in his favourite study of antiquities’—it may be so.

With the lives written by Aubrey, and which were designed as memoranda for the use of Anthony à Wood, we have been more entertained than we almost think we ought to have been. They are presented by the editor as literary curiosities:—‘that they possess a claim to this title,’ he observes, ‘will be readily allowed, since there is scarcely a life without some anecdote hitherto unpublished; and the author’s description of the personal appearance and domestic habits of most of the individuals of whom he writes, is singularly interesting.’ Had the last word been written *amusing*, we should have entirely agreed with him. They are, in fact, the gossip,—the coffee-house memoranda of a facetious old gentleman, and genuine antiquary; who possessed a greater share of humour, than generally accompanies the solemn bearing of the tribe. They are thus characteristically introduced:

To my worthy friend Mr. ANTHONIE à WOOD, Antiquarie of Oxford.

‘SIR,

‘I HAVE, according to your desire, putt in writing these Minutes of LIVES tumutularily, as they occur’d to my thoughts: or as occasionally I had information of them. They may easily be reduced into order at yr. leisure by numbring them with red figures, according to time and place, &c. ’Tis a taske that I never thought to have undertaken till you imposed it upon me, sayeing that I was fitt for it, by reason of my generall acquaintance, having now not only lived above halfe a centurie of yeares in ye world, but have also been much tumbled up and downe in it; which hath made me so well knowne. Besides the moderne advantage of coffee-houses in this great citie; before which men knew not how to be acquainted, but with their own relations, or societies: I might add, that I come of a longævous race, by which meanes I have wiped some feathers off the wings of time for severall generations, which does reach high. When I first began I did not thinke I could have drawne it out to so long a thread. I here lay downe to you (out of the conjunct friendship between us) the trueth, the naked and plaine trueth, which is here exposed so bare that the very.....are not covered, and affords many passages that would raise a blush in a young virgin’s cheek. So that after your perusall, I must desire you to make a

castration (as readers to Martial) and to sowe on some figge leaves (i.e.) to be my *Index expurgatorius*.

'What uncertainty doe we find in printed histories! They either treading too neer on the heeles of trueth, that they dare not speake plaine; or els for want of intelligence (things being antiquated) become too obscure and darke! I doe not here repeat any thing already published (to the best of my remembrance) and I fancy my selfe all along discourseing with you; alledgeing those of my relations and acquaintances (as either you knew or have heard of) *ad faciendam Fidem*: So that you make me to renew my acquaintance with my old and deceased friends, and to *rejuvenescere* (as it were) which is the pleasure of old men. 'Tis pittie that such minutes had not been taken 100 yeares since or more: for want whereof many worthy men's names and notions are swallowed up in oblivion; as much of these also would, had it not been through your instigation: and perhaps this is one of the usefulest peeces that I have scribbled.

'I remember one sayeing of Generall Lambert's, "*That the best of men are but men at the best*:" of this you will meet with divers examples in this rude and hastie collection. Now these *Arcana* are not fitt to lett flie abroad, till about 30 yeares hence; for the author and persons (like medlars) ought to be rotten first. But in whose hands must they be deposited in the mean time? Advise me, who am,

Sir,

'Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

'London, June 15, 1680.

'JOHN AUBREY.'

'Tis pity,' says Aubrey, 'that such minutes had not been taken a hundred years since, or more.' We are half disposed to agree with him, and yet a little attention to the mixture of truth and falsehood, this mode of collection must infallibly ensure, with the absolute impossibility of entirely separating them, inclines us to pause. Much in these lives is mere hearsay, much positively false, and we hardly know whether it is just and conscientious to circulate particulars for and against the characters of individuals upon little or no authority at all. From Aubrey we have assertions, which, if honest fame means any thing, ought never to be hazarded lightly; witness the following, with respect to Sir Walter Raleigh: 'I remember I heard old father Symonds (*à societate Jesu*) say, that.....a father, was at his execution, and that, to his knowledge, he died with a lie in his mouth. I have now forgott what it was. The time of his execution was contrived to be on my Lord Mayor's day, that the pageants and fine shews might drawe away the people from beholding the tragedie of one of the gallantest worthies that ever

England bred.'—The gallantest worthy,—yes; and how sacrificed, and by whom,—a poor enacter of majesty, who feeling he had done a deed which all his subjects thought both barbarous and despicable, in the precise spirit which made his posterity wanderers through the earth, commenced an apologetical proclamation in the following words: 'Tho' I take myself bound to give no other account of my actions but to God, yet, &c.'—How truly in character!

We wish we could give the entire articles of Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Francis Bacon, they are the strongest and the best in the whole, but they are too long. As a specimen of honest Aubrey's style and sentiment, we select the following of Dr. Corbet and St. Dunstan. The latter was a chemist, and the account of him contains an observation on that pursuit, displaying an appreciation of science so truly antiquarian, that we cannot do less than recommend it. to Professor Davy.

'Richard Corbet, D. D. was the son of Vincent Corbet (better known "by Poynter's name then by his owne,") who was a gardner at Twicknam, as I have heard my old cosen Whitney say. He was a Westminster scholar; old parson Bussey, of Alscott, in Warwickshire, went to schoole with him, he would say that he was a very handsome man, but something apt to abuse, and a coward. He was a student of Christ Church, in Oxford. He was a very facetious and a good fellowe. One time he and some of his acquaintance being merry at Fryar Bacon's study (where was good beere sold,) they were drinking on the leads of the house, and one of the scholars was asleepe, and had a paire of good silke stockings on: Dr. Corbet (then M.A. if not B.D.) gott a paire of cizers and cut them full of little holes, but when the other awaked, and perceived how and by whom he was abused, he did chastise him, and made him pay for them.

²⁹⁶ After he was Dr. of Divinity he sang ballads at the crosses at Abingdon, on a market-day. He and some of his camerades were at the taverne by the crosse, (which by the way was then the finest of England; I remember it when I was a freshman: it was admirable curious Gothique architecture, and fine figures in the niches: 'twas one of those built by King.....for his queene) the ballad singer complained he had no custome, he could not putt off his ballades. The jolly Doctor putts off his gowne, and putts on the ballad singer's leathern jacket, and being a handsome man, and had a rare full voice, he presently vended a great many, and had a great audience. After the death of Dr.....he was made deane of Christ Church. He had a good interest with great men, as you may find in his poems, and with the then great favourite, the D. of Bucks; his excellent witt was letter of recommendation to him. I have forgott the story, but at the same time that Dr. Fell thought to have carried it,

Dr. Corbett put a pretty trick on [him] to lett him take a journey on purpose to London for it, when he had already the graunt of it.

'He preach't a sermon before the King at Woodstock (I suppose K. James,) but it happened that he was out, on which occasion there were made these verses:

' A reverend deane,
With his band starch't cleane,
Did preach before the King;
In his band string was spied
A ring that was tied,
Was not that a pretty thing?
If then without doubt,
In his text he was out
. next,
The ring without doubt
Was the thing put him out,
For all that were there,
On my conscience, dare sweare,
That he handled it more than his text.

' His conversation was extreme pleasant. Dr. Stubbins was one of his cronies, he was a jolly fat Dr. and a very good house-keeper. As Dr. Corbet and he were riding in Lob-lane, in wett weather, ('tis an ordinary deepe dirty lane) the coach fell, and Dr. Corbet sayd that Dr. Stubbins was up to the elbows in mud, he was up to the elbowes in Stubbins. Anno Domini 1628 he was made Bishop of Oxford, and I have heard, that he had an admirable, grave, and venerable aspect. One time as he was confirming, the country people pressing in to see the ceremonie, sayd he, "*Beare off there, or I'll confirme ye with my staffe.*" Another time being to lay his hand on the head of a man very bald, he turnes to his chaplaine and sayd, "*some dust, Lushington,*" (to keepe his hand from slipping.) There was a man with a great venerable beard, sayd the bishop, "*You, behind the beard.*" His chaplaine, Dr. Lushington, was a very learned and ingenious man, and they loved one another. The Bp. sometimes would take the key of the wine-cellar, and he and his chaplaine would goe and lock themselves in and be merry. Then first he layes downe his episcopal hat,—"*There lyes the Dr.*" Then he putts off his gowne,—"*There lyes the Bishop.*" Then 'twas,—"*Here's to thee, Corbet,*" and "*Here's to thee, Lushington.*" He built a pretty house neer the Cawsey beyond Frier Bacon's studie. He married. She was a very beautiful woman, and so was her mother. He had a son (I think Vincent) that went to schoole at Westminster, with Ned Bagshawe; a very handsome youth, but he is run out of all, and goes begging up and downe to gentlemen.

' He was made Bishop of Norwich, Anno Domini 1632. He dyed The last words he sayed were "*Good night, Lushington,*"

He lyes buried in the upper end of the choire at Norwich, on the south side of the monument of Bishop Herbert, the founder, under a fair gravestone of free-stone, from whence the inscription and scutcheon of brass are stolen.

‘ His poems are pure naturall witt, delightfull easie.’

Saint Dunston.

‘ I find in Mr. Selden’s verses before Hoptons’s “Concordance of Yeares,” that he was a Somersetshire gentleman. He was a great chymist. The storie of his pulling the devil by the nose with his tongues as he was in his laboratorie, was famous in church-windows, picture, and poetrie. He was a Benedictine monke at Glastonbury, where he was afterwards abbot, and after that was made A. B. Cant. He preached the coronation sermon at Kingston, and crowned King.....In his sermon he prophesied, which the Chronicle mentions. Mr. Meredith Lloyd tells me that there is a booke in print of his “De Lapide Philosophorum.” Edwardus Generosus gives a good account of him in a Manuscript which Mr. Ashmole hath. Mem. Lloyd had, about the beginning of the civill warres, a MS. of this Saint’s, concerning chymistrey, and sayes that there are severall MSS. of his up and downe in England. Edwardus Generosus mentions that he could make a fire out of gold, with which he could sett any combustible matter on fire at a great distance. Mem. In Westminster library is an old printed booke, in folio, of the Lives of the old English Saints. Mem. Lloyd tells me that three or 400 yeares ago, Chymistrey was in a greater perfection much than now. The process was then more seraphique and universall. Now they looke only after medicines. Severall churches are dedicated to him: two at London; Qu. is one at Glastonbury.’

We have been led into a certain tone of observations in this article merely from the spirit and tenour of the doctrine and politics which the editor has been so evidently solicitous to recommend. The publication in itself is out of the pale of criticism, but if this kind of desultory selection is studiously made a vehicle for partialities and bigotry, it calls for remark and exposure! Whether this is the time to receive opinions in Great Britain which are beginning to be exploded every where else, remains to be seen. From certain wild and extraordinary effusions which have lately distinguished our daily press, we are inclined to think the attempt is to be made. High panegyrics upon French liberty under the old *régime* and bold insinuations of the right divine to govern wrong, beat exceedingly in unison, but in the form of recent publications at least have become altogether strange to the inhabitants of England. It may be very possible for governors to care nothing at all for the principles which set them upon a throne,—the governed cannot afford to be so liberal; therefore, with all due respect for the monarchy and church

of England, we trust that it will never be forgotten that both of them exist by, for, and through, the people, whose laws they administer, and whose spiritual welfare they superintend.

ART. II.—*A Letter on the Corn Laws.* By the Earl of Lauderdale, pp. 89. 3s. Longman and Co. 1814.

ART. III.—*Observations on the Effects of the Corn Laws, and of the Rise and Fall in the Price of Corn; on the Agriculture and general wealth of the country.* By the Rev. T. R. Malthus, Professor of Political Economy at the East-India College at Herts. pp. 44. 2s. Johnson. 1814.

As early as the days of Solomon it was discovered, that in 'making many books there is no end.' Our own philosopher, Lord Bacon, explains the reason of this, by shewing, that there are three literary diseases, which tend to multiply useless books, almost infinitely; the first, is the propensity that learned men have to write upon useless subjects; the second, the power they have of rendering even a proper subject useless, by placing it in an injudicious point of view; and the third, the taste for dressing up a subject in a luxurious style for the display of their own talents, so that, whether the matter be frivolous or important, the mind is led on only by the artifice of the writer.

In whatever degree the works under review escape from these censures, they will be obliged to the dignity of the discussion for the indulgence they receive. We have seldom examined any productions of men of acknowledged literary rank, which have rewarded us so ill for our labour. The noble and reverend writers have written as if they felt it incumbent on them to say something, without being convinced of the necessity of placing the subject in the clearest point of view; and the impression that these tracts leave on the mind of the reader, is chiefly confined to the satisfaction derived from their not being long. The obvious reason for all this waste of argument is, that our authors have neglected to consider the simple and natural principle that governs the whole case,—the acting motive seems different in the different persons. In Lord Lauderdale it is a prejudice in favour of the landed interest; in Professor Malthus it is a want of courage to meet all the consequences of his own discoveries.

Lord Lauderdale is of opinion, that, under our present circumstances, we ought to encourage the exportation of

grain, in order to secure the grower a high price, and a large profit to induce him so to augment the quantity of produce, that if a scarcity should, at any time, happen from natural and unforeseen causes, there may be a stock available to prevent the home consumer from being deprived of food. The argument in favour of this policy is displayed in a great variety of forms ; but the substance of it is, that unless the exportation price be rated much higher than by the law as it now stands, the corn grower will be in a much worse condition than he was at the revolution, and cannot be indemnified for his capital. The demonstrations are ; first, that whilst a bounty is given for the exportation of other commodities, a temptation is offered to withdraw capital from agriculture, which should be countervailed ; secondly, that from the year 1688 until 1757, when an efficient bounty on the exportation was granted, an ample supply was obtained by stopping the exportation in times of scarcity ; and thirdly, that such has been the depreciation in the value of money, that to place the grower of wheat in 1814, upon a footing with the grower of wheat in 1688, a bounty of (about) 15s. ought to be granted upon the exportation of wheat until it arises to (about) £7. 3s. per quarter.

As to matters of fact, nobody will question the accuracy of Lord Lauderdale, and yet his argument is in effect fallacious. It would have added nothing to the obscurity of this letter, to have considered the reasonings of Mr. Dawson, and the Considerations on the Corn Laws, which we noticed in our last number ; perhaps it might have removed some part of it ; for, if the landlord adjusts his rent to the farmer's profit, the two first demonstrations are mere nullities ; the only colourable reason would then have been in the depreciation of money ! Now that seven pounds three shillings in bank paper is only worth two pounds eight shillings of the money of the revolution, is very true ; and, therefore, that claim of the difference to place the wheat grower upon a level with his predecessor, at first sight, appears plausible ; when, however, it comes to be examined, it is discovered to be altogether a fiction ; for if he is obliged to take this paper in payment for his one article, so are all the labourers and mechanics for the variety of articles that he himself consumes ; and as he will consume the labour of many men, whilst he cannot possibly perform more than the labour of one, it follows that he must gain in proportion as the rate of wages is depreciated.

Professor Malthus, like Lord Lauderdale, seems to have

an invincible objection to examining the arguments of contemporary writers; both however agree in rejecting the opinions of Dr. Adam Smith; and prove the doctrines of that writer to have been in some instances crude and inconsistent. The Reverend Professor declares, that it is not his intention to express an opinion upon the general question; but merely to state the advantages and disadvantages of each system; and he attributes, as Lord Lauderdale does, many of the mistaken notions that prevail upon this subject, to the credit given to Dr. Smith's position, that 'corn is of so peculiar a nature that its *real* price cannot be raised on an increase of its *money* price.' We cannot follow those arguments closely, without repeating what appeared in our two former numbers upon money and corn.* We shall therefore confine ourselves to a few observations immediately connected with the views of our respective authors; after merely stating that in our conception, the tendency of what Professor Malthus has written, is to shew that the affairs of men continue in a circle, of which the radii may be thus marked;—plenty occasions low prices, low prices discourages agriculture, but increases population, increased population restores the prices and encourages agriculture to produce plenty again. We conclude by very delicately suggesting to the legislature, that they are at present so ignorant of their task, that it would not be advisable for parliament to adopt any final regulations for the present. Lord Lauderdale would not acquiesce in this recommendation unless it involved the removal of all the restrictions under which trade labours, and we are so far incensed with his lordship, that we consider most of our parliamentary errors to have arisen from an injudicious talent for meddling.

That we may not become obnoxious to our own charge against statistical writers, by uselessly occupying the reader's attention, we must revert to our observation, that there is one 'simple and natural principle,' a true text, by which the whole question may be tried; it is, that the terms cheap and dear, as applied to corn, indicate nothing as to the relation that the quantity produced bears to the wants of the people, but merely express the difference between the equivalents de-

* See CRIT. REV. the present vol. for Smith's Elements of the Science of Money, p. 273, and Dawson on the Causes of Poverty, p. 337, and Considerations on the Corn Laws, p. 348.

manded in exchange by the holders, and the means of the consumers to comply with those demands. The unfortunate affectation of Dr. Smith's style, does not prove so clearly as the animadversions of the noble and reverend author's would seem to imply, that 'he himself was bewildered,' as it does that his book must bewilder every one who relies upon it implicitly. Divested of its technical formality, and expressed in the language of plain common sense, the objectionable passage must mean, that *you do not, by raising the price of the article, get a greater quantity for your own use*. That he should have expressed himself obscurely upon such a point, is not in the least surprizing, since the necessity of enforcing the observation is the severest satire upon legislative mismanagement that can be delivered. He was anxious to avoid giving prejudice too violent a shock; and he failed in establishing his moral, because he neglected to prove, with analytical severity, the feelings which had power to resist his doctrines. Taking our construction to be the import of Adam Smith's principle, it is directly opposed to Lord Lauderdale's; and if the two opinions be tried by the test we have suggested, it will appear, that Smith's is right, and his Lordship's wrong. We must hazard a little prolixity for the sake of making ourselves understood, and detail the materials of the question; first, there is the *grower* of corn; secondly, the *consumer*; and thirdly, the *legislator*; who takes cognizance of their affairs, and who must be regarded in his own character, distinctly from that of either grower or consumer.

It will greatly assist the judgment to bear in mind the relationship of the parties to each other. The grower exists before either of the others. He holds his stock. Nature furnished him with it. When the consumer appears, it is as a direct counter-part. One is marked by *possession*, and the other by *want*. Their condition is essentially a state of strife; and it is this condition that calls the legislator into being. Be it remembered that he comes not as a party, but as a judge. His functions are indicated by the opposing circumstances of the adversaries; and it is impossible that they can be reconciled if he misapprehends his duty. It would be overlooking a most important step in the progress of civilization, to omit observing, that it is the destitution of the unprovided, which calls up the legislative function; for whilst possessions are undisturbed, the holders require no rule. It may therefore be assumed, that legislators owe

their parentage to the wants of the distressed ; consequently that they only answer the end of their existence when they place themselves on the side of the consumer, as nature does on the side of the grower ; and by wisely balancing moral good, against natural evil, shew that the true end of civilization is to reconcile contending interests, and unite mankind in friendship. Now as to the terms *price*, which forms a fourth part of this question, and its qualifications, high price and low price, they ought to be considered in legislation, merely as the measure of the grower's conscience, and the functionary ought to consider himself bound to enable the consumer, by *social contrivance*, to purchase what the other possesses by *favour of nature*.

It may be affirmed, that if violence and charity be excepted, there is no way by which the wants of the destitute can be supplied from the proprietor's stock, but legislative arrangement. The terms dear and cheap, are only signs to mark the degree in which such arrangements are defective ; for if the grower can look on his surplus, whilst the consumer suffers for want of it, the legislator must have failed to furnish him with the necessary powers ; the fault is not in the person but in the law. However theoretical this may appear, it will not be easy to prove that it is false. The law not only prohibits us from reaping a man's wheat, but forbids us trespassing on his field ; and even the foot of ground on which we stand upright, without paying for, we only occupy because the law has called it the king's high-way. All the rights of non-proprietors, then, are concessions, yielded by the law, to give them claims upon the proprietor's surplus : it follows that the law is just or unjust, as the claims it gives are adequate or inadequate to their purpose.

From this view of the subject it appears, that there is a collateral question for the legislature to consider, in connexion with that decided by Lord Lauderdale, and the friends of exportation ; for, beside inquiring how prices may be kept up to satisfy the grower's demand, it should also be asked, how the means of the consumer may be increased to enable him to comply with that demand. In the first point of the investigation we agree with the exporters, that it ought to be made the interest of the grower to render his stock sufficient for the consumption ; upon the rest we differ with them. We affirm that exportation is *not* calculated to answer the end, because, although it serves the purpose of the grower, by raising the price, it does not increase the con-

sumer's means; but, in reality, it promotes the interest of one part of the community, by augmenting the distresses of the other. We cannot illustrate this position so fully as Mr. Dawson has done; but we may cite the cases of Poland and Sicily in its support, where, instead of the liberty that the proprietors have had of exporting corn having been of service to the people at large, the civilized world cannot produce more wretched savages, than the multitude of those two countries. Adam Smith himself says, 'that you do not, by raising the price of corn, get a greater quantity for your own use;' for, in Holland, where they cannot grow corn enough for their own consumption, and where, by constant importation, they keep down the price, the mass of the people get a larger share of comforts than in any exporting countries.

That the growers of corn, or, in other words, the land owners, may really believe exportation and high prices to have the powers they ascribe to them, may be accounted for upon the principle that all men easily prevail upon themselves to believe what accords with their own interests; but when the consumer appears to the legislator to assert his cause, he looks to him as a being who has neither interest nor feelings to bias his judgment. Now there are a few terms in this discussion which are great favorites with the landed interest, but which, if the consumer had been considered of equal importance with the grower, would have undergone a little more examination than they have. In the first place the term 'independence' has a very powerful charm, which prevents the examples we have alluded to in the case of Holland, from being brought into account, because a part of the professed object is to become 'independent of other countries.' Before we can understand the value of this independence, however, we must examine another of these terms, the term 'available;' for the ultimate bribe, held out to procure the acquiescence of the consumer to a system which it is proper he must consider of a dubious character, is, that, in the event of scarcity, there may be a large stock *available*. Let the reader, whether grower or consumer, now pause to inquire how, in either plenty or scarcity, a person who wants corn can avail himself of the stock on hand, but by buying it, seizing it, or having it given to him; there appears no other means; let him examine the powers of each of these separately. Will the people, in consequence of habitually paying a high price for corn, be more able to *buy* it at a still higher price in the event of what would be called scarcity? The answer

is ; no. The measure makes no such pretensions ; for scarcity has no meaning unless it implies, that all are not in a condition to compass the article by money. Is it meant then, that when the people are unable to purchase, they should *seize* it by force ? No. The motive upon which the system is founded is ' that as distress for want cannot long subsist without exciting commotions, it is adapted to protect the grower against desperation and violence.' The crisis then, at which this ingenious artifice is to become beneficial, is the moment when it has reduced the people to the brink of starvation. When the corn growers have so exhausted them that they can no longer purchase, and they are becoming desperate enough to serve themselves by force, there will be, by discouraging the importation, an available stock thrown back upon the home market, which those who cannot purchase at the high prices may take the benefit of, or, in plain terms, after the landed interest has reduced great part of the population to the condition of dependants and paupers, it will consent to let a few stacks, in the form of *charity*, go in aid of potatoe subscriptions, and soup societies. This then is the natural commentary upon the term, ' independence.' By ' the country,' the landed interest mean ' themselves ;' and by its ' independence,' they mean the right they exercise of taxing the rest of the community as they please. The consumer, according to this unjust and wretched policy, must be dependant, for his interest is sacrificed to the grower ; no legislator could sanction such a system unless he had entirely mistaken the nature of his own duty.

The purposes of the country cannot be served, the functions of legislation cannot be performed, the ends of civilization cannot be fulfilled, while one part of the population is left in dependance upon another. Whatever charm there may be in the sounds, ' independence of the country,' and ' abundant supply,' the most sanguine advocates of the exporting policy will not pretend that it can assist us to surmount our system of governing by *charity*. Unless then Parliament will openly and honourably avow that we have already attained the goal of our destined improvements, they should at once abandon the theorem by which they have hitherto worked, and adopt the following. The true principle of government is, *increase the means* of the consumer of corn, that he may be in a condition to offer such a price to the grower, as shall induce him to render the quantity equal to the demand.

If this sentiment were addressed to a body of corn growers, we know how it would be received; but it is addressed to legislators, who are supposed to have no common feelings with either of the contending parties, and who must be considered ready to do equal justice without hesitation.

That they profess to seek the interest of the whole community we argue from their own language, in which they always couple the consumer and grower, as equal objects of their care; for, under one of these classes, the whole population of a country must range. Now, that their own theorem* will not accomplish their design, will be obvious, if the readers attention recur to the distinct characters of all the parties, † and their respective conditions. Let it be imagined that both grower and consumer appear before the legislator having their respective suits to urge. The corn is the object of their contention. He must not suffer himself to be influenced by the passions of either. His duty lies between them; and, like a mathematical balance, should equally weigh the case, of both. He must enable this man to *dispose* of his corn, and that to *procure* it.

Few words are necessary upon this point, as nobody will deny them to be objects of legislative duty. The difference of opinion will arise out of our assertion, that none of the principles of the exporters, whether they present themselves in the form of maxims, petitions, resolutions, or parliamentary reports, contemplate, in any way whatever, the idea of assisting the people to procure the corn; but are confined entirely to contrivances to enable the grower to dispose of it. Owing to this avowed inconsistency between their object and the theorem they have laid down, with a view to accomplish it a new character appears—it is by the agency of the foreigner, that the grower's end is to be answered; having thus departed from the strait road of justice, they are running into the precise danger, to avoid which is the pretended motive for the course they recommended. They do not see that we are as much 'dependant' upon the 'foreigner' in the character of buyer, as in that of seller; and that if there is the smallest particle of truth in their notions we may be ruined whenever he pleases.

It would not be unfair to let the subject rest here until the exporters had extricated themselves from their dilemma; but as they assume an air of triumph, by pretending to combat theory by fact, we will somewhat closely examine the validity of the principal first adduced. From the revolution to

* See page 471.

† See page 472

1757, it is said that the system of exportation was encouraged, and its effects upon the country were such as to call for a recurrence to it. We recollect to have read, and we think in professor Malthus's excellent work on population, that there is no history which can be called a history of mankind. They are histories of the upper class alone; and the inference of the prosperity of the country from the system disputed in 1757 and abandoned in 1766, excites a suspicion that the minds in which it is entertained have been formed in drawing rooms and assemblies, and in what is called the best society, and they have not contemplated the interiors of the tenements and mud edifices, the barns, and cock-lofts, where the worst half of the consequences of high prices is to be seen. If the external appearance of the affairs of the country during that period, wear a flourishing aspect, it should not be forgotten that there was a veil over its adversity, which subsequent events have torn off. It did not import corn, but it exported the people who want it; and America became peopled during that time by those that Britain could not maintain. Upon no occasion does it suit the friends of exportation to examine both sides of the question; otherwise they must have observed that as soon as the outlet to America was closed, the effects of their system rendered it necessary to enlarge all the pauper establishments of the country. The aged poor, which the export system had left behind it, were so numerous that the parishes were on a sudden obliged to farm numbers of them out, and to rebuild larger work-houses, while the marine society was called into being expressly for the purpose of taking off the younger ones. Supposing then no reasoning more credible than this to be offered in support of exportation, the inference to be drawn for the legislator, is, by exporting corn to furnish it to foreigners, who do not produce enough themselves, and thereby raise the price for the benefit of the grower; but there is no reason to believe that raising the price has a tendency to increase the quantity for your own use.

To understand this point as clearly as it ought to be, it is necessary to bear in mind the difference of style, or language that the legislator holds in addressing the grower and the consumer upon the same thing. The subject of his communication with both, is a sufficient quantity of corn; but with each he is obliged to transmute the terms; with the consumer, his wants are a motive for the increase of the quantity; with the grower, it is the demand: now though in war, and in cha-

city, want is a very excellent reason why there should be a demand, yet, in legislative arrangements, that is in the social compact, they are scarcely tangible points; and it is not being sufficiently active to this distinction that inclines to the false policy in question. The want of an article is an inefficient power to excite its produce; it is demand that has re-creative faculty, and this, the effectual, always implies the ability of the demander to pay for it. The wants of the people have produced their most effect, when they have exerted, in the provident minds of the legislator, the desire of supplying them; but that desire may be abortive, notwithstanding the demand may increase, and the quantity keep pace with it.

Suppose a nation to consist of twelve millions of people who are able to pay, and one million who are destitute of means; the twelve millions will furnish the criterion of the demand to the grower, and he will take no cognizance of the rest. Let exportation bring the demand of a million of foreigners into the market, and the quantity of produce will be augmented, until it becomes equal to the supply of that million;—it will even go on augmenting as long as there may be an increase of effectual demand, but the original million of natives will, at no moment, have been able to come into contact with the produce, except by violence or charity. 'Hence,' says Davenant, 'of the people who went over to the colonies, they were useless to the public, their wants would otherwise have condemned them to imprisonment or beggary.'

The policy of exporters then, as it contemplates the interest of the growers merits justification upon the ordinary principles of trade, which tends to get a customer wherever he is to be found; whilst upon the principle of legislative providence, professing to accommodate the produce to the wants of the people, it is none the less delusive. The legislator has misunderstood his own character,—he has acted partially,—he has enabled one of his clients to dispose of his stock, but he has not enabled the other to procure it. It should be recollected here, that the existing system professes to have three objects in view; first to raise the prices for the grower; secondly, to adjust the produce to the wants of the people; and thirdly, to render the nation at large independent of foreigners. We have seen that it can accomplish the first of these objects; but, in the other two, it must fail, notwithstanding the friends of exportation profess to consider them equally important.

It is obvious, then, that the purpose of the grower is answered when he finds a purchaser, without having any preference for either foreigner or native; it is equally obvious, that the general purpose of securing the independence of the country can only be attained by devising means to render the foreigner's aid unnecessary; and it ought to be as obvious, that the three-fold object of legislation would be accomplished, if means were devised to put the entire population of a country into a condition to convert their own wants into an effectual demand. If this be acknowledged upon condition that we will, in return, acknowledge the difficulty of the task, and answer the question how is it to be effected, we have no objection, so far to comply with the terms, as to admit that certainly this is imposing a tax upon the wisdom of the legislature; but as it is not in the nature of things, that mankind can do without government, we say that it is legislative wisdom and justice, and not legislative folly or partiality that ought to govern them.

To place a whole people in a posture to secure their independence, by rendering their wants and possessions mutually serviceable, and reciprocally active in exerting their perpetual energies, would indeed, be an effort of wisdom. It would, however, only amount to having found out the way to be just; and when the discovery were made, it would be attended by one still more important,—that it is not administering a just policy, but in administering the present unjust one, and in finding the way from wrong to right, that the difficulty consists.

Mr. Malthus, in his *Essay on Population*, has most eloquently shewn, and Adam Smith, but for the general inconsistencies of his work, would have ably shewn, that a leading error of our system is depression of the wages of labour;—we see great reason to believe that it is our fatal error; for whenever we are obliged to travel through the statutes at large, or the annals of parliament, every page convinces us, that if, at any one period of our history the people had been allowed to demand the value of their labour, and to carry it to the best market, the cloud of mystery, which has kept our legislators perplexing one another from age to age, would have been dissolved, and nine-tenths of our jejune and mischievous laws, would never have existed. Lord Lauderdale's objections to Adam Smith's definition of labour, as a measure of value, apply chiefly to labour, in the state that our laws have placed it. The doctor's reasoning would not be

so objectionable if he had taken the precaution to give precision to his idea, by stating that he meant labour in its natural state, as an article of trade—unshackled and unchained,—at full liberty to apply its adjusting power to all the objects of which it forms a part. In that case, although for the reasons that Lord Lauderdale has given in his work on public wealth, labour could never become, any more than money, or any other thing, *a perfect measure*, it would become sufficiently near to the truth, to work out an incomparably larger portion of happiness for mankind than it can afford them, whilst legislative ingenuity employs itself in causing the largest,—perhaps the best portion of it, to evaporate in the forms of violence and charity. The grand desideratum then, which ought to be the result of our discussion, is to ascertain from our *own* population the adjusting balance between the demand and the supply, by veering round towards justice, in order to admit labour to find a value which should put every person wanting corn, in a condition to offer an effectual demand.

We are aware of the jokery, as well as of the reasoning that may meet this theory, but as we do not wish to interrupt the witticisms that may diffuse a little life into a very dull subject, we shall merely consider the reasoning. Now, if we except the supposed necessity of keeping down labour for the benefit of commerce, which we previously alluded to,* the principal argument against allowing it to find its highest value, is, that if it could succeed, it would put an end to poverty; and there are two reasons given why such an attempt ought not to be made. First, it is said that poverty is the foil of riches, and that to attempt to eradicate it out of the social system, would be to deprive the rich of great part of their rights; and, secondly, that, as mankind breed in proportion as their wants are supplied, the population must always increase beyond the power of the earth to furnish it with abundance; therefore, that a large portion of poverty is a radical, and irremediable effect of nature.

To meet these objections, in order, it is perhaps not necessary to insist, that one man has as much right to

* See Dawson, p. 337; and Considerations, &c. p. 348.

the full value of his strength and talents, as another has to the produce of his land; and that every principle which guarantees one, should provide the other an open market. The plain moral principle will not be denied; it is the prejudice generated and cherished by a perverted policy that fancies one man's misery to be essential to another man's happiness, which alone calls for an answer. If this prejudice were examined, it would be found to be altogether destructive of its own end. Riches are in themselves an absolute good, and if upon any occasion, persons who possess them require the auxiliary good to be derived from the evils that others suffer from the want of them, it is only because a false morality founded upon paradoxes, has so confounded good and evil, that they cannot distinguish one from the other. If a well instructed mind will examine its own feelings, it will find that there is not a trace of reality in the prepossession. The happiness supposed to arise out of poverty, by way of contrast, is connected with aversion to its consequences, rather than pleasure in the miseries, the deformities, or the brutalities of the persons who suffer it. So far from happiness having any essential dependance upon misery, those who delight in making others wretched, are persons who are incapable of enjoying happiness themselves, when the means are in their possession; on the contrary, those who are subject to no mental perversion destructive of their own peace, derive no sort of pleasure from poverty, but in the removal of its effects. They do not exactly analyze their feelings, but when they endeavour to instruct the poor, it is because ignorance is naturally offensive; and when they give a preference to the decent and well behaved, it is because the effects of unpolished poverty are always a hateful sight.

It would then be no inroad upon our good, it would be no drawback upon our pleasure, to put the people into a condition to do for themselves what we are desirous of doing for them. We prefer the decencies of life for ourselves, because they are agreeable: let us then increase the agreeables of life by putting the people in general, in a state to produce them in their greatest abundance, and giving them a taste to enjoy them.

As to the objection involving the impossibility of supplying and improving a whole people, which arises out of the principle of population, demonstrated by Mr. Mal-

thus, it is because we admit the principle that we think a new theory indispensable for the guidance of mankind. It has been proved that a limited soil cannot maintain, beyond a given number of human beings; and, in our opinion, this discovery is so important, that it shews the entire philosophy by which the human race has hitherto been governed, to have been false. Instead of offering an objection to the amelioration suggested, it is rather the constituent motive to it. It proves that instead of the blind confidence to which governments have heretofore abandoned themselves, a long series of facts must be ascertained before they can determine that any one of their acts does not tend to mischief. They should immediately remodel all their systems of political economy, and enquire for the basis of their refoundation as accurately as circumstances will permit, what is the ultimate amount of the population that their soil will maintain. There are, however, some decisive truths that may be inferred without any additional information; as, first, that our population will arrive at a fixed number by which the standard of the demand, and supply of our comforts may be determined; and secondly, that there is no occasion to cherish the anxiety that was indulged during the last century by Dr. Price, and others, for forcing the breed of men.

That abundance and ease have the tendency to increase mankind beyond the means of supply, as stated by Mr. Malthus, cannot be controverted; it is, however, in the present system, which proceeds in total ignorance of nature, and not in nature itself that the principle is to be found. This gentleman has contented himself hitherto, with combating some extreme points of Mr. Godwin's opinions relative to the passions, without meeting the question, what effect the state of society has, or ought to have, upon them; excepting in such obscure and general reasonings, as seem to have been designed rather to evade the peltings of the rabble, than to develop the whole truth. Closely as that subject is connected with the question under discussion, it is so desirable that Mr. Malthus should take the lead, in pressing home upon public attention the entire consequences of his previous discoveries, that we shall only consider them here incidentally. A general view of man, under all his social mutations, inclines many to think that more has been

made of the increasing efforts of sexual intercourse than would have been if Mr. Malthus had gone more into detail as to the nature of moral restraint, operating upon enlightened minds; for our population is increased principally by the poor, whose extreme incapacity to enjoy refined pleasures reduces all their enjoyments into one; and by the affluent, who, placed at the other extreme of our unequal system, have at least one feeling in common with their economical antipodes, in thinking that when children are gotten they must be kept by somebody. The same carelessness influences both; the power of social restraint may occasionally indeed, be observed in all classes, but particularly in the middling, although neither vice, misery, nor war, the avowed checks, appear in operation. The force of education and the polish of life placing as it were a rein upon the animal fructitude, by the love of refinement, and the fear of poverty.

There is then great reason to believe that the wisdom of the legislator would be evinced, and the end of society be accomplished, by educating and polishing the lower orders, and giving them a taste for refined pleasures; which, if their own industry were able to procure them, would console them for any sacrifice that the law of reason and nature might call upon them to make. It need hardly be said, that this reasoning proceeds upon the supposition that the poor laws were no longer in existence, to act as bribes, to force the bread of beggars and thieves; and that the wages of labour should not represent, as economists generally consider, the labourer's consumption of corn, but should represent, as they ought, the amount of his consumption of the comforts of life, according to the actual state of society.

The objections to this latter principle, arising out of the variations in the value of labour, and the difficulties of forming any precise idea of the comforts of life, are only such as are common to all attempts to find a perfect measure; and they may be obviated by taking the best arbitrary one that can be found. Now without going into the questions of equality, or luxury, which are more frequently resorted to by speculative, than practical men, we will shorten the disquisition, by assuming that the best part of society will acknowledge, that although a large portion of luxury is indispensable to civilized life, yet that the necessaries of the industrious ought to keep

pace with the luxuries of the wealthy. A clear and frank admission to this effect would determine the distance at which the industrious may be kept from the rich, without greatly diminishing it; and, by fixing the boundaries, would leave the thing itself to be no longer matter of contention. Suppose it to be agreed then, that the necessities and luxuries of the respective classes, ought to keep on at a relative pace; they may be connected together by a common adjunct, which, with little variation, will regulate their progress, until a vast change may have taken place in our circumstances or habits, when, if it were necessary, a new one might be sought after.

The requisite adjusting link should possess the power of raising the price of labour, in proportion as luxury has a tendency to divert the produce of land and labour, from the use of man, and thereby to increase the price of the necessities of life. Now as long as our habits submit to no considerable change, the employment of unproductive animals as a part of luxury, will keep up a competition with man, which every motive of sound policy requires to be checked; and the check or balance that is desirable, would be found in establishing it as a fixed principle of government, that the lowest wages of a man, in any part of a state, should be equal to the value of the maintenance of a horse at livery in the metropolis of such state. We shall not be expected to meet here, all the objections that may be opposed to this suggestion; but we may venture to affirm for it, that it would accomplish the great objects, which the economists of all creeds profess to have in view; it would annihilate the artificial pressure upon trade, that now forms a material part of price, by putting the consumer into a condition to use comforts upon the spot where they were produced; and it would destroy all the motives for material variations, in the extent of the different towns of an empire, but what might arise out of local advantages or especial privileges.

The hurry with which the subject seems likely to be carried through Parliament, forbids us to hope that any benefit could be derived from our dividing this article, for the sake of entering more fully into it in a future number: perhaps the tracts of Lord Lauderdale and Professor Malthus may have been more hastily written, from an apprehension of this event, than they otherwise would have been; however much therefore we may regret that our limits will not permit us to illustrate the principle more fully, we feel the necessity of closing the sub-

ject, with the simple observation, that by adopting this standard, as the *minimum* of wages, and allowing every shade of talent and improvement, to rise in value as high as they could, the legislature would attain the chief *desiderata* that involve the peace of society, for the simple sacrifice, of acknowledging that a man of the very lowest race, who might be worth keeping at all, would be at least equal in value to a horse.

ART. IV.—*Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of William Penn.* By Thomas Clarkson, M. A. 2 vols. Octavo. pp. 1032. Longman and Co. 1813.

THERE are two principles that commonly influence the actions of men, in their intercourse with society—policy and truth. These are often at variance with each other, and the selfish principle is usually cloaked under the former. In the government of nations, as well as in the conduct of individuals, the plea of policy is often set up, to justify a departure from the rule of right, and from the suggestions of conscience. Thus, a large body of people, will be sometimes proscribed of the rights of citizenship, and of public liberty, at the suggestion of another part of the community, from an apprehension that their enjoyment of these blessings, interfere with some peculiar notions and privileges which they have set up as the standard of government. This may be policy, but it is detestable and diametrically ; opposite to that truth and integrity, which should influence collective bodies, as well as private individuals. The oldness of error, and the difficulty of eradicating that hold which it obtains by custom, are arguments that are often advanced for the continuance of abuses ; but it should be remembered that when disease gains a firm footing in the constitution, it falls to decay, and nothing can prevent its dissolution. By a perversion of justice, and a mis application of the first principles of government, the most innocent things are often made to assume a formidable appearance, and converted to purposes that are hostile to the well-being of society. We are assured by divines of every persuasion, that of all subjects that can engage the attention of man, there is none that can aspire to so much importance as religion ; yet we know, both from history and experience,

that there is nothing which has occasioned so much mischief in the world, nothing that has brought into such full exercise all the passions that debase the mind, and spread desolation and ruin. This fatal result has produced in the minds of many individuals, a conclusion unfavorable to the cause of religion, which they have considered as nothing better than an engine of priestcraft to enslave mankind, and to plunder the unwary. Although we would be far from countenancing so hasty an idea, yet, we cannot undertake to say, if religion be what it is usually represented by ecclesiastics, that there is no plausible pretext for such a surmise. To avoid what is so little congenial to our own feelings, and so offensive to the prejudices of the great bulk of society, we would rather suppose that the nature of genuine religion has been mistaken, and that the evils that have afflicted mankind are to be traced to a source of imposture, under the mask of religion, which it has assumed in order to give it the greater currency. It is true, the nature of the imposture has changed in different ages, but its consequences have been nearly the same, and it has been accommodated to the shiftings of time and place. The true secret of its success, is the support which it has received from the civil sword—an argument that is not easily overthrown. Genuine religion cannot be inconsistent with the happiness of society; no system, therefore, that interferes with that quality, can make any pretensions to a name so exalted.

When a particular form of religion is adopted by the civil power, with exclusive privileges, it must operate to the injury of all other sects. The effect in Spain and Portugal, is, to exclude all protestants from civil immunities; and, in the latter country, to place them at the mercy of the inquisition. In our own country, the reigns of the Tudors and the Stuarts, were marked by religious dissention. The dominion of the latter, was particularly distinguished by the number of rising sects; and, notwithstanding the oppression of the government, they grew and multiplied. It was during the rigorous dominion of a Presbyterian disciple, that the Quakers first attracted notice in the nation. George Fox, being convened before some magistrates in 1650, exhorted them to tremble at the word of the Lord,—an admonition that gave rise to the name which has distinguished his followers; but they themselves adopted the more endearing appellation of *Friends*. At their first appearance they met with extreme persecution, which they endured

with a patience and self-possession that surprised their adversaries. The jealousies entertained by different sects, occasioned them to view each other through a distorted medium; so that it is no wonder if the early exploits of the Friends have been greatly mis-represented. The zeal they displayed in propagating their peculiar tenets, occasioned them to be considered as common disturbers; and the novelty that attached to some of their opinions and practices, afforded sport for those who were disposed to turn them into ridicule. Whilst we are far from crediting the tales that are related of their early preachers, it may be observed, that if they sometimes exceeded the boundaries of decency and good manners, those who complained of them were equally culpable, and probably, the first to set the example. The account which they themselves give of their origin, is simple, and favourable to their religious character:—Finding the insufficiency of the teachers they had been accustomed to follow, they ‘withdrew from the communion of every visible church, and dwelt retired, and attentive to the inward state of their own minds; often deeply distressed for the want of that true knowledge of God, which they saw to be necessary to salvation, and for which, according to their ability, they fervently prayed. These sincere breathings of spirit, being answered by the extension of some degree of heavenly consolation, they became convinced, that, as the heart of man is the scene of the Tempter’s attacks, it must also be that of the Redeemer’s victory. With renewed fervency, therefore, they sought his appearance in their minds; and thus, being renewedly furnished with his saving light and help, they not only became instructed in the things pertaining to their own salvation, but they discovered many practices in the world, which have a shew of religion, to be, nevertheless, the effect of the unsubjected will of man, and inconsistent with the genuine simplicity of the truth. The people were at first hidden from each other, and each, probably, conceived his own heart to be the single depositary of a discovery so important; but it did not consist with divine goodness, that the candle thus lighted should always remain under the bed, or in the bushel. At length, George Fox, who had experienced some signally afflicting dispensations, and had also been quickened by the immediate touches of divine love, could not satisfy his apprehensions of duty to God, without bearing public testimony against the common

modes of worship, and directing the people where to find the like consolation and instruction. As he travelled in this service, he met with divers of those seeking persons who had been exercised in a similar manner : these readily received his testimony ; several of them also became preachers of the same doctrine ; multitudes were convinced of the reality of this inward manifestation ; and many meetings were settled *.

'It was the belief of the early Quakers, (says Mr. Clarkson) that the system of religious doctrine and practice, which was introduced by George Fox, was really a new dispensation to restore Christianity to its primitive purity, and that they were to have the honour of being made the instruments of spreading it through the earth. This belief arose out of various considerations. In the first place, they also followed this system, led a life of great self-denial. They abstained from the pleasures of the world, that they might avoid every thing that could contaminate their moral character. They discarded all customs which could bring their sobriety, chastity, and independence into danger. They watched over their very words, and changed the very names of things, that they might always be found in the truth. They submitted to a discipline strict and severe, that they might be continued in the proper path. Friends of peace, they avoided, as far as was possible, all recourse to law, and they refused to bear arms against their fellow-creatures on any pretence whatever. Taking then into consideration this their system, and comparing it with the practice of the world, it appeared to them like the renovation of the primitive Christian system upon earth. It approached also in their opinion, like the latter, the nearest to the letter and spirit of the new Covenant. When ushered into the world by them, it was followed, considering the severity of its discipline, by an almost miraculous proselytism. Priests, magistrates, and people left their religion in great numbers, many of the former giving up valuable livings, to support it. They too, who thus espoused it, were ready, like the apostles of old, to stamp the sincerity of their conversion by martyrdom.'

Such were the people to whom Penn attached himself, but a few years after their first appearance.

WILLIAM PENN was born October 14, 1644, in the parish of St. Catherine, Tower-Hill ; being the son of the famous Admiral Penn, who so greatly distinguished himself under Cromwell and Charles II. After a preparatory education at Chigwell, young Penn entered, at fifteen years of age, a gentleman commoner, at Christ Church, Oxford, where he contracted an intimacy with the great Locke. Some verses that he penned at College, upon the death of the Duke of Gloucester, discover a lively genius ; but it did not carry

* Summary of the History, Doctrine, and Discipline of the Friends. By Joseph Gurney Bivan, p. 102, 103.

him into excess. Whilst at Chigwell School, when only eleven years of age, he had strong convictions of a religious nature; and they were strengthened at College by associating with some fellow-students, who had similar views, and withdrew from the established worship, for the purpose of holding devotional meetings in their way. As this gave offence, they were all fined for non-conformity, A. D. 1660. The surplice now being rigorously imposed in the university, William Penn discovered his zeal against that 'remnant of Antichrist,' by rending it in public over the heads of some students, which occasioned his expulsion. Upon his return home, his father received him with coolness, which was increased by his son abandoning the fashionable world, and mixing with religious people. Such conduct the admiral conceived, would defeat all the plans he had formed for his future welfare in life. In the first ebullition of his anger, he turned him out of doors; but afterwards determined upon sending him to France, supposing that the gaiety of manners there would correct his gravity. An incident that befel him while at Paris, is thus related by his biographer:—

'It happened that he was attacked one evening in the street by a person who drew his sword upon him in consequence of a supposed affront. A conflict immediately ensued. William in the course of it disarmed his antagonist, but proceeded no further, sparing his life; when, by the confession of all those who relate the fact, he could have taken it; thus exhibiting, says Gerard Crosse, a testimony not only of his courage, but of his forbearance.'

At Saumer, he availed himself of the conversation and instruction of the learned Moses Amyrault, a protestant divine, under whose direction he read over the fathers, studied theology, and became a proficient in the French Language. From Saumer he proceeded to Turin, where a letter reached him from his father, desiring his return home. After this, he became a student at Lincoln's Inn, and remained there about a year, when, the plague breaking out, he quitted London.

During his residence abroad, Penn acquired insensibly a more polished and courtly demeanour, as well as more lively manners; but he lost more of his regard for religion. By mixing again with serious people, his grave habits revived; which so much displeased his father, that

he sent him to Ireland, with a recommendation to the Duke of Ormond, the lord lieutenant, with whom he was acquainted. This scheme, however, did not answer; for William Penn soon became disgusted with the routine of the Irish court. After this, the admiral had recourse to another expedient. He possessed large estates in the county of Cork; and as they were at a distance from his son's religious connexions, he resolved to give him the sole management of them. This commission he executed for many months, to the entire satisfaction of his father; but being one day upon business at Cork, he unluckily heard that Thomas Loe, with whom he had become acquainted at college, was to preach at the Quakers' meeting in that city. Unable to resist the opportunity of seeing his former companion, he attended; and the discourse of the preacher made such an impression upon his mind, that, though he had been hitherto unconnected with any particular sect, he determined to unite himself, henceforward, with the Quakers. 'Those who attempt to detach the people from the teachings of men, must expect for their enemies those men who make a gain of teaching.' Penn had not been united long with these people before he was apprehended at one of their meetings; and refusing to give bond for his good behaviour, was committed to prison. Upon this, he wrote to Lord Orrery, president of Munster, who ordered his release. 'Religion,' says he, in his letter to that nobleman, 'which is at once my crime, and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor's malice, but *mine own free man*.' The rumour that he had become a Quaker having reached his father, he sent for him home, and entered into a serious expostulation with him upon the subject. But William had embraced his principles coolly, and would not desert them. The admiral unable to convince him, endeavoured to procure a remission of certain peculiarities which seemed unconnected with religion. In particular, he wished him to sit with his hat off in his own presence, and in that of the King, and the Duke of York. This was a case of conscience that required solemn deliberation; he therefore retired to his chamber in order that he might discuss it. William loved and respected his father; but his conscience could not allow him to pay that reverence to man, which he considered to be

due only to God. He, therefore, could not comply with the request, which so displeased the admiral that he once more turned him out of doors.

William was now thrown upon the wide world. Having no independent fortune of his own, and having been brought up to no trade or profession, he had not the means of getting his livelihood like other people. This sudden change from affluence to poverty could not but at first have affected him: but the thought of having broken the peace of mind, however innocently, of so valuable a father, and of being apparently at variance with him, was that which occasioned him the most pain. He is said to have borne his situation with great resignation, deriving support from the belief, that they who left houses and parents for the kingdom of God's sake, should eventually reap their reward. He began however to find, that even in this his temporal state he was not deserted. His mother kept up a communication with him privately, feeding him as well as she could from her own purse; and several kind friends administered also to his wants. In 1668, being then twenty-four years of age, he came forth in the important character of a minister of the Gospel; in this year he became an author also. His first work bore the following title: "Truth exalted, in a short but sure testimony against all those Religions, Faiths, and Worship, that have been formed and followed in the Darkness of Apostasy, and for that glorious Light, which is now risen and shines forth in the Life and Doctrine of the despised Quakers, as the alone good old Way of Life and Salvation."

This was quickly followed by other publications in vindication of his principles. Mr. Clarkson relates a singular dispute between William Penn and Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian minister, who published an account of the Plague, in 1665. It was conducted at the meeting-house of the latter, and lasted till midnight. These theological battles were no unusual things at that period; but as they drew blood from neither party, each retired from the contest with unbroken forces, and employed the press to settle their differences. The dispute with Vincent was attended with unfortunate consequences to Penn: for, having published his opinions upon the point in litigation, in a work entitled "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," and they being contrary to the faith which the civil power had pronounced to be orthodox, the bishop of London, (Dr. Sancroft,) took a short method of settling the point, by procuring Penn's commitment to the tower.

'In this his new habitation he was treated with great severity. He was not only kept in close confinement, but no one of his friends was permitted to have access to him. A report was conveyed to him, to aggravate his sufferings, that the Bishop of London had resolved that he should either publicly recant, or die in prison. But his conduct was like that of all who suffer for conscience-sake. He was too sincere in his faith to be changed by such treatment. The law of force, the old State argument in such cases, never conquered religious error. In his reply to the Bishop of London, instead of making any mean concession, he gave him in substance to understand, "that he would weary out the malice of his enemies by his patience; that great and good things were seldom obtained without loss and hardships; that the man who would reap and not labour, must faint with the wind and perish in disappointments; and that his prison should be his grave, before he would renounce his just opinions; for that he owed his conscience to no man." While he was in the Tower, he could not, consistently with his notions of duty, remain idle. To do good by preaching, while immured there, was impossible: he therefore applied himself to writing. His first effort ended in the production of "No Cross, No Crown;" a work which gave general satisfaction, and which in his own lifetime passed through several editions.'

During his confinement in the Tower, Penn wrote a letter to Lord Arlington, then principal secretary of state, in which he pleaded the rights of conscience, and the privileges of an Englishman, desiring that he might be set at liberty, or know for what cause he was to continue a prisoner. It does not appear that any notice was taken of this epistle; but Penn finding that the principles of his late book had been misrepresented, set about writing an exposition of it, which he called, 'Innocency with her Open Face.' Soon after the publication of this work, 'he was discharged from the Tower, after having been kept there on terms of unusual severity for seven months. His discharge came suddenly from the King, who had been moved to it by the intercession of his brother, the Duke of York. It is not known whether William Penn's father, the Admiral, applied to the Duke for this purpose, or whether the Duke out of compliment to the Admiral made a voluntary application himself; certain however it is, that, but for this interference, he would have remained in prison.' The constancy of our confessor, and his steady perseverance in the cause for which he suffered, at length caused the Admiral's heart to relent, and he once more received him into his own

house. Being commissioned to execute some business for his father in Ireland, Penn took the opportunity of promulgating his faith, and of sympathising with those who suffered for it. As many of these were in confinement, he undertook to lay their case before the Lord Lieutenant, and never deserted it until he procured their release.

The *Conventicle Act*, which prohibited Dissenters from worshipping God in their own way, being passed by the parliament in 1670, Penn became one of its first victims. Going, as usual, to the meeting-house, in Gracechurch-Street, he found the doors guarded by a band of soldiers; but as he had no idea that the Almighty was confined to places, he waited in the street until a sufficient congregation was assembled, when he began to address them. He had not proceeded far in his discourse, before some constables seized him, and another member of the Society, named William Mead, and conveyed them to Newgate. On the first of September, they were arraigned at the Old Bailey. 'The indictment stated, among other falsehoods, that the prisoners had preached to an unlawful, seditious, and riotous assembly; that they had assembled by agreement made beforehand; and that they had met together with force and arms, and this to the great terror and disturbance of many of His Majesty's liege-subjects.' On the third of September, Penn and Mead were brought again into Court. One of the officers, as they entered, pulled off their hats. Upon this the Lord Mayor became furious; and, in a stern voice, ordered him to put them on again. This being done, the Recorder fined each of the prisoners forty marks, observing that the circumstance of being covered there amounted to a contempt of Court. The witnesses were then called in and examined. It appeared from their testimony, that on the 15th of August between three and four hundred persons were assembled in Gracechurch-Street, and that they saw William Penn speaking to the people, but could not distinguish what he said. One, and one only, swore that he heard him preach; but on further examination he said, that he could not, on account of the noise, understand any one of the words spoken. With respect to William Mead, it was proved that he was there also, and that he was heard to say something; but nobody could tell what. This was in substance the whole of the evidence against them. Some of Penn's answers to the Recorder were re-

markable for their shrowdness, and show that he was as well acquainted with the law of his case as his Judge. The following will serve for a specimen :—

‘ *Recorder.*—The question is, whether you are guilty of this indictment.

‘ *W. Penn.*—The question is not, whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be legal. It is too general and imperfect an answer to say it is the common law, unless we know where and what it is; for where there is no law, there is no transgression; and that is law which is not in being, is so far from being common, that it is no law at all.

‘ *Recorder.*—You are an impertinent fellow. Will you teach the Court what law is? It is *lex non scripta*, that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know, and would you have me tell you in a moment?

‘ *W. Penn.*—Certainly, if the law be so hard to be understood, it is far from being very common; but if the Lord Coke in his institutes be of any consideration, he tells us, that common law is common right, and that common right is the Great Charter privileges confirmed.

‘ *Recorder.*—Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not to the honour of the Court to suffer you to go on.

‘ *W. Penn.*—I have asked but one question, and you have not answered me, though the rights and privileges of every Englishman are concerned in it.

‘ *Recorder.*—If I should suffer you to ask questions till to-morrow morning, you would be never the wiser.

‘ *W. Penn.*—That is according as the answers are.

‘ *Recorder.*—Sir, we must not stand to hear you talk all night.

‘ *W. Penn.*—I design no affront to the Court, but to be heard in my just plea; and I must plainly tell you, that if you deny me the oyer of that law, which you say I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to your arbitrary designs.

‘ *Recorder.*—Take him away. My Lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing to-night.

‘ *Mayor.*—Take him away. Take him away. Turn him into the pale-dock.

‘ *W. Penn.*—These are but so many vain exclamations. Is this justice or true judgment? Must I therefore be taken away, because I plead for the fundamental laws of England? However this I leave upon the consciences of you, who are of the Jury, and my sole Judges, that if these ancient fundamental laws, which relate to liberty and property, and which are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion, must not be indispensably maintained and observed,

who can say he hath a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly our liberties are to be openly invaded; our wives to be ravished; our children slaved; our families ruined; and our estates led away in triumph by every sturdy beggar, and malicious informer; as their trophies, but our (pretended) forfeits for conscience-sake. The Lord of heaven and earth will be Judge between us in this matter.

'Recorder.—Be silent there.

'W. Penn.—I am not to be silent in a case where I am so much concerned; and not only myself, but many ten thousand families besides.'

After this, they were hurried away to the Bale-Dock, a filthy, loathsome dungeon. The Recorder then charged the Jury, in the absence of the prisoners. After retiring for some time, they brought in their verdict "Guilty of speaking in Gracechurch-street." This not being satisfactory to the Court, the Jury was remanded back several times, but persisted in the same verdict. In this manner they were kept for two days and two nights without any refreshment. Upon one occasion, Penn noticed the injustice of the Court in menacing the Jury, who were his Judges by the Great Charter of England, and in rejecting their verdict; upon which the Lord Mayor, exclaimed, "Stop his mouth, jailor, bring fetters, and stake him to the ground." William Penn replied, "Do your pleasure, I matter not your fetters." The Recorder observed, "Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them; and certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the Spanish Inquisition be in England." On the fifth of September, the Jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty," which occasioned the following conversation:—

'Recorder.—"Gentlemen of the Jury, I am sorry you have followed your own judgments rather than the good advice which was given you. God keep my life out of your hands! But for this the Court fines you forty marks a man, and imprisonment till paid."

'W. Penn.—"I demand my liberty, being freed by the Jury."

'Mayor.—"No. You are in for your fines."

'W. Penn.—"Fines for what?"

'Mayor.—"For contempt of Court."

'W. Penn.—"I ask if it be according to the fundamental laws of England, that any Englishman should be fined or amerced but by the judgment of his peers or jury, since it expressly contradicts the fourteenth and twenty-ninth chapters of the Great Charter of England, which says, "No freeman shall be amerced but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage."

* *Recorder.*—"Take him away."

* *W. Penn.*—"I can never urge the fundamental laws of England but you cry, Take him away; but it is no wonder, since the Spanish Inquisition has so great a place in the recorder's heart. God, who is just, will judge you for all these things."

The prisoners and the jury were then committed to prison; the former being released through the intervention of the Admiral, who paid the money privately; but how long the latter were suffered to languish there, is not recorded.

Mr. Clarkson has given us a very instructive account of the death of Admiral Penn, who relinquished his prejudices against his son, and became the more reconciled to him in consequence of his sufferings. Amongst some excellent advice which he gives him, we find the following extraordinary passage: 'Son William! if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world!' The Admiral anticipating the persecution which his son was likely to undergo, on account of his religious profession, sent his dying request to the Duke of York, and through him to the King, to afford him their protection, which they promised. Penn was now in the possession of a handsome estate, producing £1500 per annum. One of his first employments after the death of his father, was, to publish an account of his trial; in which he pleaded the cause of liberty with great strength of argument. It was not long, however, before he was again apprehended, for speaking in Wheeler-Street, and brought before Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, who committed him to Newgate, for six months, for refusing the Oxford oath. During his confinement, he found ample employment for his pen, which seems to have been that of a 'ready writer.' His first work was a paper addressed to the parliament in vindication of the Quakers. He next wrote a letter to the Sheriffs of London, complaining of the ill treatment which some of his Society had experienced in prison; and also a letter to a Roman Catholic, in defence of a former work of his. This was followed by only four other publications, in vindication of himself, and the great cause of liberty, and all within the space of time just mentioned. After his liberation, he travelled into Holland and Germany, where he disseminated his principles with success. Upon his return home, in

1672, he took to 'wife Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, of Darling, in Sussex, who had fallen at the Siege of Bamber, during the civil wars, in the service of the parliament. She was esteemed an extraordinary woman, and not more lovely on account of the beauty of her person than of the sweetness of her disposition. After their marriage they took up their residence at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire.'

The cares of matrimony had no tendency to diminish the zeal and assiduity of William Penn. For, in the following summer, he traversed the three counties of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and this with such rapidity, that he preached to twenty-one different congregations, and some of them at considerable distances, in as many days. As a writer, he was equally indefatigable. No less than six publications were the result of his labours in this year. In the spring of 1673, he travelled into the western parts of the kingdom, accompanied by his wife; and at Bristol they met with George Fox, who had just returned from America. As our champion would suffer no publication against the Quakers to pass unanswered, one Thomas Hicks, a Baptist preacher, soon gave him occasion to resume his pen. 'The Christian Quaker, and his Divine Testimony Vindicated,' was accordingly produced; and as Hicks replied to it, Penn rejoined. The other, not at all disheartened, produced his third attack; but it was rebutted by Penn, who resolved to keep the field. As Hicks was supposed to have brought some false charges against the Quakers, Penn appealed to the Baptists, as a body, against him. These, therefore, appointed a meeting at Barbican to hear the complaint. Mr. Clarkson says, that 'it was contrived to take place during the absence of Penn, by which means the other was acquitted; but that when Penn heard of it, he hastened to London, sent his complaint to the press, and challenged the Baptists to a second meeting. Crosby, the historian of the Baptists, whose work Mr. Clarkson does not appear to have seen, gives a different representation of the matter. He says, 'the Baptists appointed a day, and to prevent the Quakers from pleading any surprise, they sent a letter to William Penn, and another to George Whitehead, to be present at the appointed day; but receiving notice that they were out of the way, they sent to John Osgood's,' &c. The same writer adds, 'several did affirm, that William Penn was not far

from London, several days before the day of meeting, after the letter was sent to him : And others reported that he was at his own house, at no great distance from town, the very day preceding. 'If these things be true,' adds Crosby, 'William Penn could not be absent for want of information.' *Hist. Engl. Baptists, vol. II. p. 295, 296.*

Mr. Clarkson says, 'I can no where find any printed account of this controversy.' We can inform him, that an account was published by both parties; the narrative of the Baptists, intitled, 'A Contest for Christianity,' containing the various letters that passed upon the subject. The substance of which took place at both meetings, may also be seen in the historian above cited.

Another writer that engaged the attention of Penn this year was John Faldo, who had published a book, called 'Quakerism no Christianity,' and to which Penn had written a reply. Faldo now printed a Vindication, which brought forth Penn's rejoinder. The next piece was 'A Curb to William Penn's Confidence;' which was immediately opposed by 'A Return to John Faldo's Reply. After this, appeared a second edition of Faldo's first book, which Penn would by no means suffer to pass without 'A Just Rebuke to One and Twenty Learned and Reverend Divines;' the number that prefaced Faldo's performance. With this the dispute dropped. It would be tiresome to enumerate all our author's publications; suffice it to say, that six other pieces, of a controversial nature, fell from his prolific pen before the expiration of the year.

The persecution of Dissenters being revived in 1674, William Penn addressed a letter to one Justice Bowls, who led the way in Wiltshire. He pursued the same course with the Middlesex magistrates; but the evil continuing to spread, he thought it high time to interfere more seriously, and wrote a letter to the King. This does not appear to have produced any effect; for the Quakers were again tortured with the oath of allegiance, which occasioned our industrious author to pen his 'Treatise of Oaths,' which was followed by 'England's Present Interest Considered,' a work full of political erudition. But such was the unhappy state of the times, that the benevolent labours of our author produced but little effect.

'Bigots, who had power, still continued to abuse it. Persons were thrown into gaol; so that parents and their children were se-

parated. Cattle were driven away. The widow's cow was not even spared. Barns full of corn were seized, which was thrashed out and sold. Household-goods were distrained, so that even a stool was not left in some cases to sit on, and the very milk boiling on the fire for the family thrown to the dogs in order to obtain the skillet as a prize. These enormities sometimes took place on suspicion only that persons had preached to or attended a conventicle; and to such a length were they carried, that even some of those who went only to visit and sit by their sick relations, were adjudged to be a company met to pray in defiance of the law.

' Finding that an appeal to reason, and to the law and constitution of the country, had failed with those to whom he had lately addressed himself, he determined to try to make an impression upon their feelings. He wrote therefore a small book, which he called "The continued Cry of the oppressed for Justice, being a farther Account of the late unjust and cruel Proceedings of unreasonable Men against the Persons and Estates of many of the People called Quakers, only for their peaceable meetings to worship God: presented to the serious Consideration of the King and both Houses of Parliament." He began this book with an appropriate address to the three branches of the Constitution, after which he satisfied himself with relating in a plain and simple manner several of the atrocities which had taken place in different parts of the kingdom, hoping that the bare recital of them would do good.

' The same spirit of love and hatred of oppression, which made William Penn so warm an advocate for his brethren at home, impelled him to become the champion of their interests abroad. A decree had come out this year at Embden, by which all Quakers were to be banished from that city. He wrote therefore a letter to the Senate of Embden, worded in Latin, and of considerable length, in their behalf.

In 1676, William Penn became a trustee for one half of the province of New Jersey, and it fell to his lot to frame a constitution for those who should settle there.

' He therefore drew up what he called Concessions, or terms of grant and agreement, which were to be mutually signed. The great outline of these may be comprehended in few words. The people were to meet annually to choose one honest man for each proprietary who had signed the concessions.—They, who were so chosen, were to sit in assembly.—They were there to make, alter, and repeal laws.—They were there also to choose a Governor, or Commissioner, with twelve assistants, who were to execute these laws, but only during their pleasure.—Every man was to be capable both of choosing and being chosen.—No man was to be arrested, imprisoned, or condemned in his estate or liberty, but by twelve men of the neighbourhood.—No man

was to be imprisoned for debt; but his estate was to satisfy his creditors as far as it would go, and then he was to be set at liberty to work again for himself and family.—No man was to be interrupted or molested on account of the exercise of his religion.'

The task which Penn had now executed brought before him the great question of settlements, and qualified him by degrees for that station which he afterwards filled with so much credit to himself, as the founder of Pennsylvania.

The next remarkable circumstance in Penn's life was his visit to Holland and Germany, which is circumstantially related by Mr. Clarkson, and is full of interest. The kind reception he met with from many foreigners of distinction is a proof of their candour, as well as of the prudent conduct of our traveller. After his return home, he again undertook the cause of his suffering friends, and presented a petition to both Houses of Parliament, praying that the word of a Quaker might be taken in lieu of his oath. Upon this point he obtained a hearing before a Committee of the Commons; and took the opportunity of making a noble defence of himself, and of the cause which he espoused:

'I was bred a Protestant, and that strictly too. I lost nothing by time or study. For years, reading, travel, and observations made the religion of my education the religion of my judgment. My alteration hath brought none to that belief; and though the posture I am in may seem odd or strange to you, yet I am conscientious; and, till you know me better, I hope your charity will call it rather my unhappiness than my crime. I do tell you again, and here solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make, and the Society I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that Protestant judgment I had, that I am not conscious to myself of having receded from an iota of any one principle maintained by those first Protestants and Reformers of Germany, and our own martyrs at home, against the see of Rome. On the contrary, I do with great truth assure you, that we are of the same negative faith with the ancient Protestant church; and upon occasion shall be ready, by God's assistance, to make it appear, that we are of the same belief as to the most fundamental positive articles of her creed too: and therefore it is, we think it hard, that though we deny in common with her those doctrines of Rome so zealously protested against, (from whence the name Protestants,) yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that

with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines which we do so deny. We chuse no suffering; for God knows what we have already suffered, and how many sufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourselves an useful people; we are sure we are a peaceable people: yet, if we must still suffer, let us not suffer as Popish Recusants, but as Protestant Dissenters.

“But I would obviate another objection, and that none of the least that hath been made against us, namely, that we are enemies to government in general, and particularly disaffected to that which we live under. I think it not amiss, but very reasonable, yea, my duty, now to declare to you, and this I do with good conscience, in the sight of Almighty God, first, that we believe government to be God's ordinance; and, next, that this present government is established by the providence of God and the law of the land, and that it is our Christian duty readily to obey it in all its just laws, and wherein we cannot comply through tenderness of conscience, in all such cases not to rebel or conspire against the Government, but with Christian humility and patience tire out all mistakes about us, and wait the better information of those, who, we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us; and I know not what greater security can be given by any people, or how any Government can be easier from the subjects of it.

“I shall conclude with this, that we are so far from esteeming it hard or ill that this House hath put us upon this discrimination; that on the contrary we value it, as we ought to do, an high favour, and cannot chuse but see and humbly acknowledge God's providence therein, that you should give us this fair occasion to discharge ourselves of a burthen we have not with more patience than injustice suffered but too many years under. And I hope our conversation shall always manifest the grateful resentment of our minds for the justice and civility of this opportunity; and so I pray God direct you.”

The dark state of public affairs induced our author to publish, in 1679, ‘An Address to Protestants of all Persuasions upon the Present Conjuncture;’ a work containing many important thoughts, of which Mr. Clarkson has given an analysis. Penn had a perfect knowledge of the English constitution, and he used it for the benefit of his country. His attachment to liberty occasioned him to espouse the cause of Algernon Sidney, at the election of members to serve in parliament, in the above year; and Mr. Clarkson has given us, from the Sidney papers, two of his letters to that patriot, couched in terms of the warmest friendship. The same principle induced him to publish a pamphlet after,

as he had done one before the election, in which he upheld the rights of conscience, and invited the government to cultivate a spirit of union amongst all classes of Protestants.

The next event in Penn's life is of great importance, and opens to us more than any other event his real character as a patriot and a benefactor of the human race.

‘ His father had advanced large sums of money from time to time for the good of naval service, and his pay had been also in arrears, for these two claims, in including the interest upon the money due. Government were in debt to him no less a sum than sixteen thousand pounds. William Penn was desirous therefore of closing the account. He was however not anxious for the money. He wished, on the other hand, to take land in America in lieu of it, and therefore petitioned Charles the Second, that letters patent might be granted him for the same. The tract he solicited was to lie North of Maryland. It was to be bounded on the East by the Delaware River. It was to be limited on the West as Maryland was, and it was to extend Northward as far it was plantable. It has been said that he was led to this step by his father who before his death had received a good report of this tract from a relation, and who had received the promise of a grant of it by way of reimbursement, from the Crown. But this is the assertion merely of a solitary writer, and is in other respects improbable; for William Penn came to a knowledge of it, far more accurate than any which could have been furnished him by his father, in consequence of constant communications concerning it from those settlers whom he himself had sent to West New Jersey, directly opposite to which it lay. Nor had he any desire to possess it from any views of worldly interest, such as his father might have entertained, but chiefly from the noble motive of doing good. Having acted as a trustee of Billinge for four years, he had seen what a valuable colony might be planted by a selection of religious families, who should emigrate and dwell together, and who should leave behind them the vicious customs and rotten parts both of the political and religious constitution of the Old World. In this point of view any payment of the debt in money would, as I have said before, have been nothing to him compared with the payment of it in American land: and that something like this was his motive for soliciting the grant in question, may be abundantly shown. Oldmixon, who was his contemporary, states, that, “ finding his friends, the Quakers, were harrassed over England by Spiritual Courts, he resolved to put himself at the head of as many as would go with him, and thus conduct them to a place where they would be no longer subjected to suffering on account of their religion.” Anderson, who succeeded Oldmixon, speaks the same language. In his *Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce* he uses the following words: “ The same year gave rise to the noble English colony of Pennsylvania in North America——Mr. William Penn, an eminent Quaker, and a genle.

man of great knowledge and true philosophy, had it granted to him at this time.——He designed it for a retreat or asylum for the people of his own religious persuasion, then made uneasy at home through the bigotry of spiritual Courts." Such is the statement of these writers. The truth however is, that he had three distinct objects in view when he petitioned for this grant. In a letter to a friend on this subject he says, that he so desires to obtain and to keep the New Land, as that he may not be unworthy of God's love, but do that which may answer his kind providence, and *serve his Truth and people*; that *an example may be set up to the nations*; that *there was room there* (in America) *though not here* (in England) *for such an holy experiment.*"——Here then are two of these objects: for to *serve God's Truth and people* meant with him the same thing, as to afford the Quakers the retreat from persecution mentioned; and by the words which followed these, it is clear he had a notion, that by transporting the latter he might be enabled to raise a virtuous empire in the New Land, which should diffuse its example far and wide, and to the remotest ages; an idea worthy of a great mind, and such only as a mind undaunted by difficulties could have hoped to realize. The third object may be seen in this petition for this grant; for in this he stated, that he had in view the glory of God by the civilization of the poor Indians, and *the conversion of the Gentiles by just and lenient measures* to Christ's Kingdom. In short, his motives may be summed up in the general description of them given by Robert Proud, one of his more modern historians, and who had access to hundreds of his letters, and who spared no pains to develop his mind in the most material transactions of his life. 'The views of William Penn,' says he, 'in the colonization of Pennsylvania were most manifestly the best and most exalted that could occupy the human mind; namely to render men as free and happy as the nature of their existence could possibly bear in their civil capacity, and, in their religious state, to restore them to those lost rights and privileges with which God and nature had originally blessed the human race.'

The colony of East New Jersey being put up to sale in 1681, according to the will of Sir George Carteret, the proprietor, Penn became the purchaser, and took in twenty-four partners, principally Quakers. Penn's petition for land in America, after much debate in the Privy Council, at length, ended in his favour.

Penn's first care, after obtaining the charter, was to draw up some account of the province of Pennsylvania, and to promulgate laws for its government. The fundamental principle of these was liberty of conscience upon a most enlarged basis. His provisions in favour of the poor Indians will for ever immortalize his name; 'for, soaring above the prejudices and customs of his time, by which navigators and

adventurers thought it right to consider the inhabitants of the lands they discovered as their lawful prey, or as mere animals of the brute creation, whom they might treat, use, and take advantage of at their pleasure, he regarded them as creatures endued with reason, as men of the like feelings and passions with himself, as brethren both by nature and grace, and as persons, therefore, to whom the great duties of humanity and justice were to be extended, and who, in proportion to their ignorance, were the more entitled to his fatherly protection and care.' Having settled what he judged necessary previously to his departure, he set sail for the new colony about the 1st of September, 1682, and arrived there after a voyage of about six weeks. Of his proceedings, during the time he continued in the New World, we have a particular and very interesting account. One of the most prominent was his treaty with the Indians, 'the only treaty between those people and the christians,' observes Voltaire, 'that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never broken.' Here we have another trait in Penn's character. His right to possess the country he did not consider to be sufficiently established by the King's patent; he therefore took measures for purchasing it of the natives, to whom only it probably belonged.

The affecting accounts that he continued to receive of the prosecution of his countrymen, especially of those of his own persuasion, induced in him a strong desire to visit England. To this, their circumstances also contributed, particularly a dispute with Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, upon the boundaries of these respective territories. Soon after his return, the King died, and James the second was proclaimed in his room. The intimacy of Penn with that monarch, who was sometimes with him for hours together, to the neglect of his courtiers, has been converted by most historians to his reproach; but is satisfactorily accounted for, by Mr. Clarkson. When Admiral Penn was on his death bed, he had recommended to the Duke of York, the guardianship of his son; and from that time a regular intimacy grew up between them. Now that he was become King, thought that by renewing the acquaintance he might serve the public; for though he disapproved of his religious opinions, yet, as he considered James to be a friend to liberty of conscience, he expected that he should be able by his interest to mitigate severities executed upon persons of his persuasion. If James acted the part of a hy-

pocrite, Penn was much in an error of judgment; for it is certain that the former possessed the most unbounded liberty, and in reply to one of the addresses to him made the following answer: 'gentlemen, I protest before God, and desire you to tell all manner of people, of all persuasions, that I have no other design than I have spoken. And, gentlemen, I hope to live to see the day, when you shall as well have *Magna Charta* for the liberty of conscience, as you have had for your properties.* If Penn used his interest at court for the service of others, it was attended with disadvantage to himself. His frequent attendance upon the king occasioned a report that he was become a Papist, and corresponded with the Jesuits at Rome; and even his amiable friend Dr. Tillotson, who valued men for their merits, not their opinions, lent an ear to the vulgar notion. Some letters that passed between them, of high interest, and creditable to the integrity of both parties, are given by Mr. Clarkson, and should be transcribed, was not the present article of considerable length. It is sufficient to say, that in all his intercourse with the court, our patriot never swerved from his integrity; but used his influence for a purpose that would have done credit to his calumniators when they themselves basked in its sun-shine. Penn still continued to inundate the press with his writings, either upon the subject of his colony, or in defence of his principles, but more particularly in behalf of the rights of conscience. By the flight of James, and the accession of William and Mary, the circumstances of Penn underwent a material alteration. The public voice was now against him as before, but he had no longer the monarch for his friend; and the jealousy that existed in the new government as to his true character, and the suspicion that he still carried on a correspondence with the exiled King, occasioned him to fall into much trouble. This was increased by the efforts of malicious informers, and he was several times imprisoned and held to bail, when he was upon the point of embarking for America. At length, to complete the measure of his afflictions, the King took from him his government, and gave it to another person. Thus all his prospects were dashed to pieces in a moment, and his fortune ruined. 'Had he been a mere earthly-minded man, all had been wretchedness

* See an exposition of James's conduct, in the life of Mr. Lob, one of his favourites, which may be found in a work lately published, entitled 'the History of Dissenting Churches.' By Walter Wilson, vol. 2.

and despair. We know not to what lengths a situation so desperate might have driven him. But he still kept his reliance on the great Rock which had supported him. He knew that human life was full of vicissitudes; but he believed that they, who submitted with patience and resignation to the divine will, would not be ultimately forsaken, and that, to such, even calamities worked together for their good.'

It seems difficult to account for the ill-treatment of Penn upon any principles of justice, and can only be resolved into the confusion arising from a new settlement of the nation. King William indeed, had often expressed a regard for him; but the King could not always resist the opinion of his ministers, or of those who frequented his court. At length, the time came when our injured patriot was to be restored to that station in society from which he had been withheld by the malevolence of his enemies. Three lords, Rochester, Ranelagh and Sidney, with the full concurrence of Lord Somers, represented the hardship of his case to K. William; who replied, that

'William Penn was his old acquaintance as well as theirs, and that he might follow his business as freely as ever, for that he had nothing to say against him. Upon this they pressed His Majesty to command one of them to declare this his gracious intention to Sir John Trenchard who was then principal Secretary of State. To this the King consented; and as the Lord Sidney was one of the most intimate acquaintances William Penn had, he was selected for the purpose. The Secretary of State, upon receiving the intelligence from the Lord Sidney, was much pleased; for William Penn, he said, had done him signal service after the Duke of Monmouth's and Lord Russel's business. Soon after this, orders came to him from the King himself. In consequence of this, he, Sir John, appointed William Penn a time to meet him. An interview took place on the thirtieth of November, when Sir John, in the presence of the Marquis of Winchester, told him "he was as free as ever;" adding, that "as he doubted not his prudence about his quiet living, so he assured him he should not be molested or injured in any of his affairs, at least while he held that post." It appears however, as if William Penn had not been satisfied with the manner of his release; for a Council was afterwards held, where, the King and many Lords being present, he was heard in his own defence, and where he so pleaded his innocency that he was acquitted.'

It is with great pleasure we find that he was soon afterwards restored to his government of Pennsylvania; but he did not go thither till 1699. The interval, being about five years, he spent in visiting different parts of England and the

continent, and in publishing a variety of books for the dissemination of his principles. The English ministers having formed a design to dissolve the proprietary governments and subject them to their controul, Penn hastened to England in order to counteract it, but, by the time of his arrival, the scheme was dropped. Soon afterwards King William died, and Queen Anne succeeded to the throne. With this princess, Penn was in great favour, and occasionally attended her court.

In the latter part of his life, Penn fell under pecuniary embarrassments, owing to the mismanagement of an unjust agent, by which he found himself several thousand pounds in debt. This obliged him, during the continuance of an unsuccessful law-suit, to retire within the rules of the Fleet Prison. This, together with the infirmities of age, broke his constitution, and rendered him less capable of business and society. To relieve himself from his difficulties, he was obliged to mortgage his province of Pennsylvania for £6,600. After this, he took a handsome seat at Rushcomb, in Berkshire, where he resided during the remainder of his life. At length, after a gradual declension of six years, he departed from our world in the seventy-fourth year of his age, July 30, 1718.

Thus lived and died William Penn, one of the most extraordinary persons that have been produced, in this, or any other nation. His correct notions of public liberty, and the unbending integrity of his mind, qualified him in an eminent degree to support the character of a patriot; and the same qualities united with a rational piety, and love and practice of virtue, enabled him to appear with credit and success in the light of a reformer. The mind of Penn was so amply stored, and his judgment so accurately formed, that he was peculiarly fitted to commence a state of society. No eulogy is too strong to characterize the laws and government that he promulgated in his colony. The rights of each individual, seemed so equally poised, and the abuse of power so carefully prevented, that there remained but little ground of complaint. His criminal code was remarkably simple. Murder and treason were the only crimes that he made capital. Regarding the Reformation of the offender to be the great end of punishment, he converted his prisons into workshops, where the inhabitants might be industriously, soberly, and morally employed. Considering the present to be a probationary state, in order

to another world, all his laws, discourses, and actions, were directed to that object. The common policy of men and nations, he rejected as inconsistent with that integrity of mind, which alone influenced his conduct.

In presenting to the world a portraiture of so illustrious an individual, drawn with so much accuracy and discrimination, and fraught with so much useful instruction, Mr. Clarkson has rendered a benefit to society. On account of the important sentiments he has conveyed to us, we can easily overlook those defects of composition that attach to this, as well as his other writings, and cordially recommend the present work to the public, as a valuable addition to our stock of biographical writing. It is to the credit of Mr. Clarkson, that he has adopted none of those prejudices that abound in most writers, when speaking of Dissenters. His language is that of an enlightened man, of a friend to truth, and of a warm patriot. We know not any where to have met with a finer description of liberty, than is contained in the following paragraph, which we will leave with the reader, without weakening it by any addition of our own. 'They who declaim for liberty at home, but yet who would be friends to slavery in other lands; or they who, while they make a noise about liberty, civil and personal, would yet impose fetters on the religious freedom of the mind, show at once the inconsistency of their opinions, as well as that these proceed from a corrupt source. The true friend to liberty, on the other hand, who collects his notions concerning it from the pure and sacred fountains of truth and justice, feels no spirit of exclusion in his breast. That portion of it which he enjoys himself, he wishes to be communicated to others. He confines it not to climate. He limits it not to complexion or colour, but he is anxious that it should fly from region to region, and extend itself, under a rational control, from the meridian to the poles.'

ART. V.—*Medical Transactions* published by the College of Physicians of London. Volume the fourth. Octavo. pp. 424. 12s. Longman & Co. 1814.

After a lapse of forty-five years from the publication of the first, and of twenty-eight years from the publication of the third, the Royal College of Physicians in London,

issue the fourth volume of their Medical Transactions. It contains twenty-six papers; of which are three by Dr. Baillie, three by Dr. Heberdeen, six by Dr. Latham, two by Dr. Powell, and two by Dr. Warren; nine are communicated by as many members of the college, and the remaining one is the report of the college on Vaccination. It is remarkable that more than twenty years elapsed after the publication of the third volume, without a single communication having appeared deserving of insertion in the present; the earliest dated papers in this volume were read in the year 1806. The articles are of unequal merit; one or two are certainly unworthy of a place in the Medical Transactions of a Royal College; and the whole volume, notwithstanding the superior usefulness and value of some of the communications, has the air of having been, as the gentlemen in the Row say, made up. We shall take the papers in the order wherein they occur.

I. *The Case of a boy seven years of age, who had Hydrocephalus, in whom some of the bones of the skull, once firmly united, were, in the progress of the disease, separated to a considerable distance from each other.* By Matthew Baillie, M. D. and F. R. S. Fellow of the College. — In May 1804 the subject of this paper was brought by his mother to the doctor's house, the pupils of the patient's eyes were considerably dilated, his pulse somewhat irregular, he complained of pain towards the back of his head, and was often in a state of stupor. The head was of the common size, and the bones, which were all closely united, had closed earlier than usual. Apprehending that water had begun to accumulate, the Dr. ordered a blister on the scalp, mercury internally, with digitalis, and mercurial frictions. In three or four weeks the child recovered, but shortly went into a state of disease that resembled a good deal the remittant infantile fever, which being tedious, he was sent to Margate for four or five weeks, where his health improved, but on returning to town the beginning of October he declined, and soon after grew much worse. Paralysis ensued, first in the right, then in the left leg, and afterwards in both arms; stupor little; understanding clear; the pupils much dilated, but the sight very little impaired. The parietal bones separated about the end of December, and at his death were three quarters of an inch apart. The coronal suture, between the frontal and two parietal bones, also separated half an inch. He died on the 17th of March 1805. The peculiarity

of this case of Hydrocephalus consists in the separation of the bones of the skull, after their having been closely united. On examining the edges of the two parietal bones at the sagittal suture, and the edges of the frontal and parietal bones at the coronal suture, (which latter bones were thinner at the edge than usual,) the processes of union appeared more simple in their form, and fewer in number than is usual in children of the same age.

II. Of some uncommon symptoms which occurred in a case of Hydrocephalus Internus. By Matthew Baillie, M.D. F.R.S. &c.—A gentleman aged 50 seized with symptoms of compression of the brain on the 9th of February 1805, became paralytic on the right side on the 11th; he lost his recollection of words, except a few, *Yes, Yes; No, No; Mr. Reed; Yesterday*; which he pronounced with the greatest distinctness; and, in a great variety of tone, upon all occasions, and did not seem at all aware of their not being the proper words to express his meaning. He appeared to understand whatever was said, his pupils were not dilated; he sometimes put his left hand to the upper part of his head as if in pain; pulse sometimes between ninety and one hundred; often natural; never very slow nor irregular.

* During the first four or five months, nothing remarkable was observed in the paralytic limbs; but about six months before the death of the patient, the right foot was contracted involuntarily inwards, and the right hand was bent upwards and forwards upon the fore-arm. The fingers were soon after contracted into the palm of the hand, and the fore-arm, was bent upon the arm. This state of the upper extremity was sometimes attended with pain, and varied a little in the degree of a contraction at different times. During the last week of his life, the right arm acquired so much rigidity in this posture, as to resemble in some degree the permanent attitude of a Fakir in Hindostan. Soon after the right foot was contracted inwards, the right leg was bent back upon the thigh, and the right thigh was bent upwards and forwards upon the trunk of the body. This however was not in the same degree as the bending of the right arm which we have just described. Within a few weeks of his death there was also some degree of involuntary contraction in the left leg and thigh, but there was none in the left arm. About two months also before the patient died, the right thigh and leg became much swelled, and there were even appearances which denoted a tendency to mortification; but these soon vanished, and the swelling gradually in a great measure subsided. During this uncommon disease, the bowels were for the most part rather costive: the urine was generally in the natural quantity, sometimes a little scanty, but was never remarkably deficient. In the course of so long and severe an illness, the temper of the patient was sometimes irritable,

but it was often very calm, and he exhibited great kindness of disposition, which made a part of his natural character. On the 6th of January, 1806, after an illness of eleven months, he died, and, for a few days previous to his death, he was almost in a constant state of drowsiness.

The treatment at the commencement was bleeding, cupping, and blister on the head; purgatives; tonics when languid; opiates when irritable. Pil. Hydrarg. was administered in doses of four grain every night, with a view to absorb the compressing fluid, without advantage; medicine produced little effect throughout the disease. Two days after death, the brain being opened, its substance and membranes appeared perfect; no extravasation of blood, nor the blood vessels too much loaded; but the lateral ventricles of the brain contained rather more than six ounces of water, and the left vertebral artery was enlarged in size, and its coats were opaque. The remarkable circumstance in this case is that, although symptoms of pressure upon the brain were very strongly marked, yet none had occurred during any part of the disease, which usually denote the accumulation of water in the ventricles.

III. *A singular Case of Stricture and thickening of the Ileum.* By Dr. Charles Combe.—The patient was habitually flatulent and costive, with a pulse between 90 and 100; two or three hours after eating, excessive pain in the bowels came on, which, for the last three weeks, was so great, that he refused all solid food; the feces passed in very small indurated lumps, something resembling sheep's dung; for several years an uncommon pulsation of the aorta about the region of the loins was perceptible to a hand applied externally upon the umbilical region; this increased until death, when he was more emaciated than any person the Doctor ever saw. The body was opened.

There was not any fat between the skin and the muscles of the abdomen, or about any of the parts of the integuments. The epiploon was entirely wasted, and there was not the least appearance of fat about the mesentery or kidneys. The liver, pancreas, spleen, and kidneys were in a sound state. The stomach, though rather smaller than usual, was in a natural state, as was the duodenum, and jejunum, and the upper part of the ileum. The lower part of the ileum as far as the colon, was contracted, for the space of three feet, to the size of a turkey's quill. The colon had three constrictions, one about three inches long at the distance of seven inches from the cæcum, a second about one inch long at the distance of four inches from the former, and

a third not quite half an inch long at the distance of three inches from the last.

'In consequence of the constriction of the ileum, and the total want of fat in the abdomen, there was nothing to support the colon in its natural situation. It had, therefore, fallen, and lay irregularly on the small intestines, and consequently there was no appearance of what is called the arch of the colon. Wherever the intestines were constricted, the coats were very much thickened, and exhibited an appearance of inflammation; while the blood-vessels, passing through the mesentery to the intestines, were enlarged. The aorta was in a perfectly natural state.'

The great pain and uneasiness after eating, commenced at about the period when the food naturally arrived at the constriction of the ileum.

IV. *Cases of Tetanus in consequence of wounds*; evincing the utility of relaxant medicines, and more especially of the *puleis ipecacuanhæ compositus* in large and repeated doses. By J. Latham, M.D. F.R.S. Fellow of the College.—The first case is of locked jaw from a bruise above the elbow; James's powder and opium were given alternately; recovery in a few weeks.—2d case, Patient's hand dreadfully bruised; locked jaw with almost universal tetanus succeeded and strong muscular spasms every ten minutes; five grains of James's Powder every four hours for several days, were given with manifest benefit; and the Dr. was firmly persuaded of a cure; but the patient being in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the pupils gave publicity to the case, a constant succession of visitors interrupting the progress to recovery, the spasms returned, the relaxed jaw resumed its rigidity, and the patient died in a dreadful spasm.—3d case, Tetanus caused by treading on a nail; James's powder given alternately with opium; death after a succession of spasms.—4th case, patient a groom, fell from his horse 23d of October, without other apparent injury than a slight wound on the outer angle of the right leg, which was healing kindly in St. Bartholomew's Hospital; 30th, locked jaw came on suddenly; 31st, Dr. L. ordered ten grains pulv. Ipec. comp. every four hours, with vl. Ricini occasionally, bread and milk poultice to the wound, and milk diet; amended until 12th November, when unfavourable symptoms arose, it is supposed from the omission of the vl. Ricini, 13th better; medicine given every three hours instead of four; 14th perceptible advantage from the increase of the pulv. Ipec. comp.; 18th greatly improved, poultice omitted; 4th December meat diet allowed; 13th discharged. The benefit from the Ipec. pulv. comp. being so

obvious, it was administered with success in a case where the symptoms were not so violent, but on which Dr. L. lays little stress, as from the patient's irregular conduct his medicines were not properly given. The next case is remarkable.

' At the very time that was arranging the histories of the foregoing cases, and considering the probable efficacy of *Pulvis Ipecacuanhæ compositus* in the cure of this disease, Mr. Eaton, an apothecary in Holborn, wished me to see his relation who was his shopman, and who from cutting his hand by corking a bottle about three weeks before, had been labouring for three days under the very worst possible state of Tetanus. For his better accommodation, Mr. Eaton had removed his patient to Somers-town, who was then attended by Mr. Ford, of Golden Square. The account which he gave me of the young man's sufferings was distressing in the extreme, and he added that, in his opinion, as well as in that of Mr. Ford, nothing was likely to serve him; but that for his own satisfaction, as a relation, he was desirous that I should see him. I took from my drawer the very cases above recited, and read them to him, under the idea of encouraging him to persevere with resolution in the plan which I proposed, he was accordingly ordered to give his patient ten grains of *Pulvis Ipecacuanhæ compositus* every two hours until I visited him, which I promised to do early in the morning. On seeing him according to my promise, I found him (as he expressed himself) not worse, but, as he thought, a little more comfortable: I therefore directed him to persevere in the use of the powder which he continued regularly to take almost ten days. During this time the spasms were occasionally very dreadful; for he was usually drawn into an irregular arch, his head and his feet forming its two extremities: his urine was often forced from him by the violence of the spasms, and his belly was frequently drawn inwards, and very obstinately constipated. Fully sensible of his situation, he not only persevered in the use of his medicine with astonishing resolution, but of his own accord took two or three times a day ten or twelve drops of tincture of opium. Although his jaws was so locked together as scarcely to admit at any time the edge of a shilling, yet he contrived to get the medicine into his mouth, either by squeezing it, when made into a soft bolus, through the small aperture which his utmost efforts could make, or by taking it as occasion allowed him in a liquid form. The comparative degree of ease which he sometimes experienced encouraged him to go on, notwithstanding the sudden recurrence of the spasms, and the violence of them each time, which nearly hazarded his very existence. I purposely omit in my account of this case many circumstances, such as the regulating his bowels by clysters or by castor oil; the giving broths or light nutritious liquids; the allowing a little portion of wine diluted by water, when sudden faintness or deliquium supervened. Such arrangements of course were made as occasions required; but I more especially wish to lay stress upon the facts that the compound powder of *ipecauanhæ* was never once omitted, as

I believe, for more than a fortnight, that it never induced any remarkable drowsiness, that the perspiration was generally great; although not immoderate, and that nothing like sickness occurred until the 17th or 18th day, when he appeared to those about him suddenly to be giving way,—but on vomiting a little glairy fluid he found relief, and the alarm of his friends ceased. Until this time his amendment had been gradual; but after this sudden deliquium and sickness, and a further relief obtained by evacuating the bowels, his spasms seemed greatly to abate; and now for the first time he began to dislike the powder, which indeed did not longer seem very necessary, but which was nevertheless given in smaller doses and at greater intervals. He was now directed to take wine more freely, and to begin a course of bark in decoction with the tincture and aromatic confection. In a week from this time he rapidly recovered, and in a few weeks afterwards was enabled to attend to his business as usual.

‘After two or three years, a piece of glass which had been gradually making its way, was extracted by Mr. Ford, from between the thumb and first finger of the patient’s hand. Mr. Ford, who saw this case in the first instance, and who kindly called occasionally upon the patient during the continuance of the complaint, declared to me, that of all the cases which he had seen (ten or twelve,) this was by much the worst.’

V. Remarks on Tumors which have occasionally been mistaken for diseases of the liver. By J. Latham, M.D. F.R.S. &c.—Indurated Pancreas, and, in females, diseased ovarium, are sometimes mistaken for diseased liver. Dr. L. recommends, principally from theoretical analogy, in attempting a cure, the exhibition of mercury in small doses; in failure of relief narcotics, as cicuta in gradually increased doses, the gentlest laxatives, tepid or warm sea baths, moderate exercise, mild diet, and water alone for drink.

VI. Of a peculiar affection of the Eyes, with observations? By W. Heberden, M.D. F.R.S. Fellow of the College!—This paper records a singular variety of the Nyctalopia or night blindness; with references to known cases.

VII. Some Observations on the Scurvy. By W. Heberden, M.D. &c.—Dr. H. remarks the almost total extinction of Scurvy in the Navy and its unfrequency on land; and mention some hospital cases which appear to have been occasioned by low diet, and habitual abstinence from vegetables; and were cured by the bark, saline draughts and oranges.

VIII. Observations on the internal use of Nitrate of Silver in certain convulsive affections. By Richard Powell, M.D. Fellow of the College.—The cases mentioned are, 1. a girl aged 11 years, with a permanent contraction of the flexor

muscles of the right arm; 2. a boy aged 11 years, of uncommon mental powers, but of a vicious, uncontrollable, disposition, affected with St. Vitus's Dance; 3. a boy aged 14 years with the same complaint; 4. a girl aged 15 years. Nitrate of Silver was administered with effect, in doses of from 1 to 4 grains in solution, every three or four hours. Dr. P. has given doses, in the form of pills, of 15 grains each; but few stomachs could bear more than five grains in solution. The paper deserves the regard of the practitioner.

IX. *On the Mortality of London.* By W. Heberden, M.D. &c.—From the general return of the number of christenings and burials, it appears that a great alteration in the relative numbers within the bills of mortality has taken place. During the last fifty years, the excess of burials was constantly growing less; and, on an average proportion to the christenings, was about five to four; but since 1800 the burials have fallen short of the christenings in the proportion of twelve to thirteen. The burials have decreased principally among children under two years of age, which Dr. H. attributes; 1. to more infants, particularly parish poor, being nursed in the country, by which, if their lives are not saved, their burial often are not in the London registers; and 2. to better treatment and management. From the registers of the Foundling Hospital, and the Lying-in Hospital, Brownlow-Street, we are informed, that in the former, since the year 1770, the proportion of deaths under a year old has decreased from above one-fourth to less than one-sixth; in the latter, in the course of fifty years, the deaths under three weeks old have decreased gradually from 1 in 15 to 1 in 90. But whilst the burials under two years of age have diminished, the numbers from the ages of 2 to 10 years have much increased; between the ages of 10 and 40 years, the same proportion died as formerly; from 40 to 80 they have been throughout the last 50 years and are still sensibly decreasing, which Dr. H. attributes to the increased improvements of the metropolis. It is remarkable that Dr. H. has omitted to mention Vaccination as one of the chief causes; which, in our estimation, has contributed to decrease the number of deaths in infancy.

X. *Some Observations on Phthisis Pulmonalis.* By Edward Roberts, M. D. F. R. S. Fellow of the College—Dr. Roberts, well assured of the inefficacy of ordinary means to check the disease, when arrived to ulceration, made trial of various substances, which had not before

been exhibited in the complaint; and emboldened by the invitation of the College of Physicians, for accounts of unsuccessful, as well as successful practice, and of methods found to have been ineffectual or hurtful, he subjoins a list of articles, which were given in as large doses as the stomach would bear, but which exhibited no specific effects.

XI. *Observations upon the comparative prevalence of Insanity, at different periods.* By R. Powell, M. D. Fellow, &c.—The worthy Secretary to the Commissioners for licensing and visiting all houses in England and Wales, for the confinement of the insane; and who, in his official capacity, is keeper of the register of the returns made by such houses, and has therefore, in virtue of these advantages, ample means of obtaining information as to the number of insane persons, is the author of the present paper, upon the comparative prevalence of Insanity. As the Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1786, for regulating mad-houses, directs that such register shall be kept, and how it shall be kept; and, as it appears to have been kept accordingly, its imperfections are attributable to the defects of that Act; and we are not disappointed, when we find Dr. Powell stating, that the keepers of mad-houses do not make returns which are not required of them. The Act expressly exempts parish paupers from return; it requires no return of persons confined under Commissions of Lunacy: it exempts public hospitals, not only from return, but from the jurisdiction of the Commissioners altogether. Bethlem and St. Luke's, therefore, do not return their inmates, 'and there are,' says Dr. Powell, 'Institutions which shelter themselves under this name (Public Hospitals) which take no licence, and make no return of the patients admitted into them, although they receive payment for medical attendance, custody, and accommodation.' The Doctor, in considering the various particulars that are essential to his enquiry, says:—

'In our estimate of the prevalence of insanity, some addition also, beyond the numbers which the registers supply, must be made for those unfortunate individuals possessed of more ample fortunes, who are confined in single houses, either under the care of medical practitioners, or more frequently under the superintendence of keepers of licensed houses, or in short of any description of persons, under the evasive salvo of a plea, that where one lunatic only is confined in one house, he and his household are wholly exempted from the provisions of the act. Under the improvident vagueness of diction in this act, it is thus judged to be lawful for any one to consign to solitary

confinement, patients to any numerical extent whatsoever, even in contiguous houses, provided they be distinct, without legislative control or interference of any kind. Such patients, therefore, are not supposed to come in any shape under the direction or examination of the commissioners, nor are they reported for insertion in the register; and I have reason to believe, that, within the last few years, this practice has not only not diminished, but has considerably increased.'

A separate register is likewise kept by the College, of returns made by Clerks of the Peace, from the reports of visitors of houses, in the several counties; but such returns are 'made without any thing like regularity, excepting in a very few cases; and there are many counties in which licensed houses are to be found, from whence no reports at all have been officially received. In other counties, there are houses which pay no attention whatever to the Act, not even taking out a licence. From such imperfect materials, however, Dr. Powell states, and we think with truth, that insanity appears to have been considerably on the increase. As to any other result, the present article, notwithstanding the tables subjoined, is scarcely of any value. The Doctor is egregiously mistaken, when he says, that the number of insane persons, of the year 1800, when contrasted with the census of England for that year, will only be about the ratio of 1 to 7,300; we rather apprehend an error of the press here, which the Doctor will do well to correct immediately, and which the College should publish, with the copies of this volume, hereafter issued.—In regretting that the returns of private houses, from only the Christian name being given, do not furnish means of ascertaining the proportion which male and female patients bear to each other; the Doctor has thought proper to designate Bethlem Hospital, a regulated and well appointed establishment. On this point we dare not defer even to the opinion of Dr. Powell. We believe, from actual observation and knowledge, that Bethlem Hospital is the worst governed Institution for the insane within the bills of mortality. We trust that the Bill, now pending in parliament, will take especial care to ensure every return that can possibly be of use, in ascertaining the number, age, sex, and duration of disease, as well as length and frequency of confinement of every insane person, of every condition, in every place, both public and private, throughout the kingdom; and, above all, that for obvious reasons, it will provide a frequent, vigilant,

and wary inspection, of every such place and person, and that Bethlem Hospital, which Dr. Powell has thought proper to praise, we know not why, instead of being exempted, as it stands by the present Act, will, for the reasons we have just assigned, with other public Hospitals, and their inmates, be essentially subjected to effectual inspection.

XII. Case of Superfatation. Communicated by W. G. Maton, M. D. F. R. S. Fellow of the College, &c.

‘ Mrs. T. (an Italian Lady,) was delivered of two male children, at Palermo, on the 2d of June 1806; one of these children lived about two years, and the other three years, and are supposed to have died more from want of care than from any other cause.

‘ On the 12th of November, 1807, she had another male child, who was brought forth under circumstances very distressing to the parents, being dropped on a bundle of straw, at midnight, in an uninhabited room. Though this infant had every appearance of health, at the time of his birth, he lived about nine days only.

‘ But the occurrence which forms the more immediate object of this paper is now to be related. On the 2d of February, 1808, (not quite three calendar months from the preceding *accouchement* Mrs. T. was delivered of another male infant, completely formed, and apparently in perfect health. He was sent away to be nursed, but the nurse’s milk being deficient, he was removed soon afterwards to another foster-mother. When about three months old, however, he fell a victim to the measles, and died. From November, 1807, to February 1808, Mrs. T. had not left Palermo, except on short excursions in her own carriage; and Mr. T. the lady’s husband, (who is in the commissariat department of the British army,) has been constantly with his wife since the year 1805. The prolific character of Mrs. T.’s constitution, is, perhaps, almost unprecedented; for, on the 23d of November, 1808, she again had twins (males) who are both alive, and in good health, at Palermo. On the 9th of June 1809, Mrs. T. miscarried, on board of the ship which brought her to England, and which was preparing to engage some cruisers.’

Dr. Maton opposes this case to the scepticism of those who are unbelievers in the occurrence of superfatation, more from partiality to favourite hypothesis, than from real knowledge of the mode of impregnation.

XIII. Case of Tetanus arising from a wound in which the affusion of cold water was successfully employed. By George G. Currie, M. D. Fellow of the College, &c. Cold affusion was applied, and opium exhibited with effect in a very tedious case of Tetanus.

XIV. Sequel to the Case Tetanus. By J. Latham, M. D. &c. Dr. Latham, from the supposed resemblance between Tetanus and Hydrophobia, recommends, in the

latter disorder, the exhibition of Ipecacuanhæ by enema, and suggests a trial of the vinum veratri in the same disease, and where the Pulv. Ipec. comp. cannot be obtained in Tetanus. [See Paper, No. IV.]

XV. *Case*, by Mr. Blagden, Surgeon, at Petworth.—Communicated by W. Saunders, M. D. F. R. S. Fellow of the College. A Lady, 66 years of age, afflicted with hepatitis, passed a gall-stone of extraordinary size through an opening of great depth made in an abscess that had formed about midway between the navel and the centre of the spine of the ileum.

‘ On March 23, 1804, a peculiar resistance to the finger was perceivable underneath the integuments of the abdomen, and immediately below the aperture, which left no doubt on the mind that a gall-stone was near; of this, therefore, the patient was apprized.

‘ Three days afterwards, a piece weighing about eight grains came away; and before the end of the third week, six pieces more. These seven pieces weighed fifty-one grains, and when put together with mucilage, (which was easily done, as they were exactly adapted to each other) evidently formed a part of a large stone.

‘ On April 27, the larger part, came away entire, through the original wound, dilated by the pressure of the stone, and somewhat enlarged by the bursting of the integuments just below the wound, with extreme pain and difficulty indeed, though without surgical assistance; the weight of this part alone is an ounce and sixty grains.’

The weight of the whole stone was an ounce and 111 grains, the length 3 inches and 5-8ths, and the circumference at its largest part, 3 inches and a quarter. In six months after the stone had passed, the patient's health was completely re-established.

XVI. *Two Cases of Diabetes Mellitus, treated with opium.* By Pelham Warren, M. D. F. R. S. Fellow of the College, &c. These cases are detailed at considerable length as evidence of the restraint of large doses of opium upon the secretion of the kidneys, and the sweetness of the urine, in Diabetes Mellitus. Tables of the progressive state of the urine and drink, and of the opium and other medicines administered in each case, are annexed.

XVII. *Case of Inflammation, and subsequent Mortification, of the adipose Membrane surrounding both Kidneys.* By Thos. Turner, M. D. Fellow of the College, &c.

Remarkable for the ambiguous nature of its symptoms, rapid progress, and sudden fatal termination.

XVIII. *Of Head-aches, which arise from a defective action of the digestive organs.* By P. Warren, M. D. &c. An elaborate paper, minutely detailing the symptoms of Head-aches proceeding from diseases of the stomach, and suggesting proper regimen, and modes of cure.

XIX. *Upon a strong Pulsation of the Aorta, in the Epigastric Region.* By M. Baillie, M. D. &c. For this complaint, which is very difficult to distinguish from aneurism of the Aorta, but is not at all dangerous, there does not seem to be any means of cure.

XX. *Observations on certain Symptoms usually, but not always, denoting Angina Pectoris.* By J. Latham, M. D. &c. A paper that may be useful to the student.

XXI. *On the Discrimination of Chronic Rheumatism from Gout, acute Rheumatism, Erythema, Nodosity, White Swelling, and other painful Diseases of the Joints and Muscles.* By John Haygarth, M. D. F. R. S. &c. A memoir of considerable interest to the practitioner, including successful treatment of an alarming Case of Inflammation of the heart from retrocession of gout, and the following mention of muscular debility in females :

‘ I have seen some cases of what appears to be a peculiar disease, but which has a slight resemblance to chronic rheumatism. As I do not recollect a description of such a malady in medical authors, perhaps it may be useful to suggest to this learned body a few circumstances, which if fully confirmed by their own observation (not otherwise) may deserve to be recorded.

‘ I have known a few examples of young ladies, who have suffered a tedious and irksome confinement for many months, and even years, to their chambers, and even to their beds, by what seems to be merely muscular debility. Some had not strength to get up, but were lifted out of bed; others could with difficulty walk a few steps, but such a slight exertion occasioned extreme fatigue. Physicians of skill and experience might call this disorder chronic rheumatism, or palsy, or nervous fever, or hysteria, or might ascribe it to mere fancy and imagination. But, as far as I can judge, it does not proceed from any of these causes. An accurate nosological discrimination of diseases from each other, appears to be conducive, in no small degree, to the most successful method of curing them.

‘ In all the cases which I have recorded, the patients were

females in the higher ranks of society, sensible, elegant, and handsome. In most of them, the complaint began about twenty years of age. All were *unmarried* except one, twenty-eight years old, who was mother of several children. All finally recovered, except one, who died of another disease.

XXII. *On the Climacteric Disease.* By Sir H. Halford, Bart. F. R. S. Fellow of the College, &c. &c. This disease Sir H. Halford describes as a falling away of the flesh in the decline of life, without any obvious source of exhaustion, accompanied with a quicker pulse than natural, and an extraordinary alteration in the expression of the countenance. On the argument by which it is maintained, that it is mere decay, he observes, that men frequently rally from the languid and feeble condition into which this change had thrown them, become to a certain degree themselves again, and live for years afterwards. After enumerating various symptoms and causes of the disease, Sir Henry eloquently remarks, that—

‘The effects of grief on the body, physicians have daily occasion to witness and to deplore; but they remark, that its influence is very different at an early from what it is at a late period of life. A mind actively engaged, in youth, in the pursuit of fame and fortune, is hardly vulnerable by any disaster which does not immediately stop its career of success; and if a deep impression be made by misfortune, new schemes of ambition, and the gradual influence of time contribute to obliterate it; but sorrow late in his life has fewer resources, and more easily lets in disease. Have a man’s circumstances been overwhelmed by some unexpected calamity? There is not time to repair his losses, to recover his station in society, and he pines in gloomy despondency. Or has death inflicted the wound in his peace of mind? At this time of life, it may be, the partner of all his happiness and all his care has been torn from him, or a child, who had grown up to be his comfort and support, or, perhaps, a friend, a contemporary, with his regret for whom there is mixed an apprehension that the next blow may fall on himself; and if at this moment, a survey of past life be not more consolatory than the prospect of what remains, adieu! to that animating and enlivening hope—which is cheerfulness—which is health!’

XXIII. *On Abdominal Tumor, originating in Lumbar Abscess.* By J. Latham, M. D. &c. An ingenious disquisition which should be perused in connection with Mr. Abernethy’s excellent Treatise on Lumbar Abscesses.

XXIV. *A Case of Intestinal Protrusion per Anum*

Communicated by H. Dampier, Esq. through Dr. Latham. A boy overturned in a cart was found with the cart upon him, and a very large portion of the intestines forced out of the anus, with the mesentery and some loose pieces of fat which appear to have been part of the omentum, hanging below the anus distended and inflamed. The boy, in dreadful pain, vomited up every thing he took, and the reachings forced out the parts which had been returned. Next day the fever increased, and the parts indicated mortification, which increasing on the third day, 57 inches of the intestine were cut off with the mesentery close to the anus. He had no stool from the accident until after the operation, when a large discharge of blackish and extremely offensive feces followed, and continued for several days lessening by degrees. Tinct. cort. Peruv. simpl. was given twice a day, with, occasionally, as he was griped, tinct. rhatan. vinos. The boy recovered his health, and, four months after the accident, walked seven miles to dine with his surgeon, and walked back in the afternoon.

XXV. *Case of Hydrophobia*. By R. P. Satterley, M.D. Fellow of the College, &c.—An intellectual attempt to cure this dreadful disease in an interesting female child, eight years of age, who lived the extraordinarily long period of seven days after the disinclination to swallow liquids was evident. Unusually large quantities of mercurial ointment were rubbed in, and the submuriate taken internally without the gums being sore; and twelve or fifteen grains of opium given daily, without producing sleep or stupor. This paper is a valuable addition to the number of facts relative to Hydrophobia.

The last paper in the volume is the report of the College on Vaccination, which, with the Appendix containing the opinion of the Royal Colleges of Physicians of Edinburgh and Dublin, and the three Royal Colleges of Surgeons was published in 1807.

ART. VI.—*Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte*. Fifth Edition. Octavo 1s. 6d. Murray, 1814.

THE muse of Lord Byron delights in great talents, great energies, and great vices; the man whose career involves the history of Europe for the last dozen years, and operatively for ever, abounds in them all. What is of still greater

poetical import, the reality of his fate is as wild as the wildest fiction; while for contrast and transition, there has been nothing to resemble it since the fall of Darius. With such recommendations, general and particular, the appearance of an Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte, by a poet so capable of appreciating his dark and wayward qualities, excited in us more than common expectation. We have not been disappointed; for though the effusion before us, exhibits all the marks of hasty composition, the deep and impressive tone so peculiar to the noble author, is distinguishable throughout; and notwithstanding the omission of his name, stamps it unequivocally his own. There is a something of his character, even in the preceding quotation, which, with brief and elegant significance, forms at once a test and an advertisement.

“ The Emperor Nepos was acknowledged by the *Senate*, by the
“ *Italians*, and by the provincials of *Gaul*; his moral virtues, and
“ military talents, were loudly celebrated; and those who derived any
“ private benefit from his government, announced in prophetic strains
“ the restoration of public felicity.

* * * * *

“ By this shameful abdication, he protracted his life a few years, in a
“ very ambiguous state, between an Emperor and an Exile, till—

‘ *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, vol. 6, p. 220.’

Probably one of the most distinctive marks of superior genius, but certainly of cultivated taste, is an exalted feeling of unity. Lord Byron's subject is Buonaparte, and with Buonaparte only he concerns himself; to the exclusion of the wide and devious trains of association, with which he overthrew, in every sense but a poetical one, is so naturally connected. Those, therefore, who expect a song of triumph, or a high strain of national exultation, will be greatly disappointed. It rather assumes the measure of half audible ejaculations, or an involuntary utterance of the mind, at the unexpected and strangely circumstanced downfall of towering and merciless ambition.—The opening stanza will at once display our meaning :

‘ ’Tis done—but yesterday a King!
And arm'd with Kings to strive—
And now thou art a nameless thing
So abject,—yet alive!

Is this the man of thousand thrones,
 Who strewed our Earth with hostile bones,
 And can he thus survive ?
 Since he, miscall'd the Morning Star,
 Nor man nor fiend hath fallen so far.'

In our opinion, this suppressed and reflective tone affords far finer opportunities for a fervent expression of indignation, at the dire and tremendous abuse of great endowments by Napoleon, than the noisy vociferation with which it has been fashionable to attack him. The last part of the second stanza, appeals to the precise recollection, which, if any thing can affect him, must give point and bitterness to his future hours. However sophisticated the casuistry of successful ambition,—the consciousness of having wielded thunderbolts but to destroy,—exerted extraordinary energies to sweep off myriads of devoted beings in vain, will levy its tax of remorse from the most obdurate. It is to be remembered too, that not only the nations and languages whom he has found enemies, but France also may exclaim :

' With might unquestion'd,—power to save—
 Thine only gift has been the grave
 To those that worshipp'd thee ;
 Nor till thy fate could mortals guess
 Ambition's less than littleness !'

For our own parts, we sympathise with the gratitude of the poet :

' Thanks for that lesson—it will teach
 To after-warriors more
 Than high philosophy can preach,
 And vainly preached before.
 That spell upon the minds of men
 Breaks never to unite again,
 That led them to adore
 Those Pagod things of sabre-sway,
 With fronts of brass, and feet of clay.'

There is something very happy in the following comparison, when it is considered, how decidedly Buonaparte has been caught in the recoil of a mighty exertion of his own strength.

' He who of old would rend the oak,
 Dreamed not of the rebound ;
 Chained by the trunk he vainly broke—
 Alone—how looked he round ?'

Though in the sternness of thy strength
An equal deed hast done at length,
And darker fate hast found :
He fell, the forest-prowlers' prey ;
But thou must eat thy heart away !

The succeeding allusion to Sylla, contrasting his daring abandonment of power with the resignation of Buonaparte, is also very striking.

' The Roman, when his burning heart
Was slaked with blood of Rome,
Threw down the dagger—dared depart,
In savage grandeur, home,—
He dared depart in utter scorn
Of men that such a yoke had borne,
Yet left him such a doom !
His only glory was that hour
Of self-upheld abandoned power.....

' But thou—from thy reluctant hand
The thunderbolt is wrung—
Too late thou leav'st the high command
To which thy weakness clung ;
All Evil Spirit as thou art,
It is enough to grieve the heart,
To see thine own unstrung ;
To think that God's fair world hath been
The footstool of a thing so mean. '

Lord Byron thinks, that if Buonaparte had chosen rather to die than to yield ; his example would have excited more emulation than it is likely to do at present.

' If thou hadst died, as honour dies,
Some new Napoleon might arise,
To shame the world again—
But who would save the solar height,
To set in such a starless night : '

Alas ! so far are we from being convinced that what has befallen Napoleon, is of a nature to deter aspiring spirits from a similar career ; we fear his pension, his island, his imperial bride, and her Italian principality, will operate exactly the reverse. No ; his fate will never prevent extraordinary Lieutenants of Engineers from aiming to govern the world, if circumstances open a way for them, though it may do much to make such circumstance impossible. Our reliance

is not as *man*, but as *men*—not on the individual, but the species. The first will be actuated by the same passions to the end of time—of mankind collectively there may be some hopes ; it not being impossible for a period to arrive, when common sense alone, without either riot or revolution, may be sufficient to put down ' the pagod things of sabre sway,' from one end of the world to the other.

We can supply but another extract—a passage, which, in thought, expression, and sentiment, so truly characterises the author of the *Corsair*, we must not let it pass—we have, at the same time, extended the quotation to four lines of a succeeding stanza, to include a compliment to the element, and the dominion, which Buonaparte could never effectually assail, worth a thousand of the empty flourishes we are more accustomed to encounter, and we fear to be pleased with.

' And she, proud Austria's mournful flower,
Thy still imperial bride ;
How bears her breast the torturing hour ;
Still clings she to thy side ?
Must she too bend, must she too share
Thy late repentance, long despair,
If still she loves thee, hoard that gem,
'Tis worth thy vanished diadem !

' Then haste thee to thy sullen Isle,
And gaze upon the sea ;
That element may meet thy smile.
It ne'er was ruled by thee !'

The most prominent literary defect we have detected in this production, is a certain darkness or obscurity in the mode of allusion, which frequently renders it necessary to pause both for the point and its adaptation. The dominion of a fine mind over various and desultory reading ; is seldom displayed with greater effect than by Lord Byron, and we are even willing to allow him, that a slight mist over illustration occasionally adds both to its beauty and effect. In the present instance however, the shadow is too strong for that extent of apprehension, to which, after all, a poet must look for lasting celebrity. This rock is easily avoided ; his Lordship has only to profit by the example of some of his first rate brethren, who, with indefatigable industry, collect whatever is little, pretty, and odd, from every book they meet with, and then,

to the solid satisfaction of bookseller and self, write and extract most unmercifully to explain it.

In point of sentiment we have also a slight protest to advance, and this we do the more readily, because we guess from the introduction of an additional stanza, since the first edition, that Lord Byron has either modified his original opinion, or has heard the same objection from other quarters. Our demur is to the unqualified manner in which it is taken for granted that a violent death would have added to the character and consistency of Buonaparte. Of the novel averment that suicide is cowardice, we have not the slightest wish to avail ourselves, but we have an equal objection to the doctrine which would insinuate the reverse. The disposition to connect heroism with voluntary death at this time of day, we conceive to be a remnant of classical barbarity, a relique of school sentiment which a little consideration of the times and manners when the junction existed, will thoroughly dissipate. The reason of the ancients for so frequently preferring death to captivity, was because, even among the most enlightened, death and captivity were generally the same, except when the probability of personal indignity, or unfeeling insult, constituted a difference in favor of the former. If Napoleon could have entertained an apprehension of chains, a triumph, a procession, or a silent exit in the style of the magnanimous Romans, whose policy so much attracted him, it might have been great, or at least prudent to have died. To the existence of this pleasant order of alternative; (both by christianity and by courtesy, now we trust effectually done away) we consider much of that high minded self destruction to have been owing, which we so tenaciously admire. Its fallacy as a test of spirit, is, however, proved by the fact, that the man who so tamely consents to live, might have compounded for a circumscribed throne; but dared every consequence while a hope remained, rather than do so. It is not resolving the point to call this infatuation; it is quite as substantial a proof of unyielding determination, as running uselessly on the sword of an enemy. Lord Byron thinks Lucifer would have died if he could; if so, there is one point of dissimilarity between him and the Corsican—a fact that would make us inconsolable, if there was not sufficient resemblance remaining to satisfy all parties, and to render it perfectly unnecessary to be unjust, even to Napoleon Buonaparte.

ART. VII.—*Observations on Popular Antiquities*: chiefly illustrating the origin of our vulgar customs, ceremonies, and superstitions. By John Brand, M. A., Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London: arranged and revised with additions, by Henry Ellis, F. R. S. Sec. S. A. Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 2 Vols. Quarto. pp. 1256. £4. 4s. Royal Quarto. £6. 6s. Rivingtons, &c. 1813.

SELF-EXAMINATION is so important to the integrity and happiness of man, that sages and moralists in all ages, have enjoined its practice. Without it our knowledge however extensive, is, as to our own minds, useless; our wisdom will not be for ourselves; our talents and industry will have been exerted in vain; we shall have gathered treasures, which, unable to enjoy, will perish with us. He, however, who looks in upon himself, will soon be repaid for the irksomeness, which, in the commencement of this duty, is always experienced, and for the dislike and the loathing, of the weaknesses and vices which influenced some of his most secret purposes. He will find that his opinions and habits have originated not only in the opinions and habits of the human beings with whom he is socially connected, but in circumstances independent of his controul; and as he develops the constitution of his own, he will insensibly acquire the habit of generalising the powers and faculties with which mind in general is endowed. This is not the only advantage of self knowledge; for, however little satisfaction the first retrospect may yield, yet, if the investigation be taken with a view to determine the proper course to be adopted in future, self reformation must be the consequence. But we should be pushing our thoughts too far, by remarking further in the same tone; it is sufficient to observe, that in an investigation into the making up of individual character, reference must be had not only to the political and religious institutions, but to the manners and local peculiarities of particular communities. It is not more interesting than amusing, to trace the origin of customs, for which the majority of those who conform to them, can give little other reason than habit or prescription. In this view Mr. Brand's 'observations on our popular antiquities,' are of particular importance; and, had the task of amplifying Bourne's *Antiquitates Vulgares*, devolved to a person of more enlarged, philosophical dis-

quisition, equally disposed to diligent research; it would have become every thing that we could have wished. This however, is almost speaking against a work, from which we have no desire to derogate any thing, and which we believe only one gentleman living, from his library, and learning, and most elegant mind could have executed better—Mr. Douce.

The present production was suggested by Bourne's *Antiquitates Vulgares*, of which, in 1777, Mr. Brand published an edition in an Octavo Volume, enlarged by an appendix, with observations upon each chapter. An interleaved copy of that edition, enriched with M.S. notes by Mr. Douce, was lent by him to Mr. Brand, and appears, with the use of the library of the late Mr. Steevens, to have stimulated his exertions, until, in the year 1795, their result was the materials for the two Quarto Volumes now before us, which remained in M.S. until after Mr. Brand's death, and being purchased at his sale of books, in the year 1808, were submitted to the editorship of Mr. Ellis. The contents of the two Volumes are too extensive to transcribe. The *first Volume* contains the principal days in the calendar, in chronological order, and closes with country wakes, rural celebrations, and practices of various kinds, and various usages common to every period of the year. The *second volume* contains the customs and ceremonies of common life, and the numerous train of popular sports, notions and errors.

Mr. Brand, deducing our popular ceremonies and vulgar notions, from the times of Popery, and which were allowed to remain, or rather could not be extirpated, by our reformers, truly remarks, that 'Papal Rome borrowed her rites, notions, and ceremonies, in the most luxuriant abundance from ancient and heathen Rome.'

'I own myself,' says he, 'under particular obligations to Durand's *Ritual of Divine Offices*, a Work inimical to every idea of rational Worship, but to the *Enquirer into the Origin of our popular Ceremonies*, an invaluable Magazine of the most interesting Intelligence. I would style this performance the great Ceremonial Law of the Romanists, in comparison with which the Mosaic Code is barren of Rites and Ceremonies. We stand amazed on perusing it, at the enormous weight of a new Yoke, which Holy Church, fabricating with her own hands, had imposed on her antient Devotees.

' Yet the forgers of these Shackles had artfully enough contrived to make them sit easy, by twisting Flowers around them : dark as this picture, drawn by the pencil of gloomy Superstition, appeared upon the whole, yet was its deep shade in many places contrasted with pleasing Lights.

' The Calendar was crowded with Red-Letter days, nominally indeed consecrated to Saints ; but which, by the encouragement of Idleness and Dissipation of Manners, gave every kind of countenance to Sinners.

' A profusion of childish Rites, Pageants, and Ceremonies, diverted the attention of the people from the consideration of their real state, and kept them in humour, if it did not sometimes make them in love, with their slavish modes of worship.

' I have fortunately in my possession one of those ancient Roman Calendars, of singular curiosity, which contains under the immovable Feasts and Fasts, (I regret much its silence on the moveable ones,) a variety of brief Observations, contributing not a little to the elucidation of many of our popular Customs, and proving them to have been sent over from Rome, with Bulls, Indulgences, and other Baubles, bartered, as it should seem, for our Peter Pence, by those who trafficked in spiritual Merchandize from the Continent.'

Analysis of a desultory work in any degree is scarcely to be expected: of this, little idea can be given, than from short accounts of some of the articles, and occasional extracts.

The shamrock which is worn by the Irish on St. Patrick's day in honour of that saint, is said to have originated from his having landed near Wicklow, in 433, to convert the natives, who being ready to stone him for his innovating doctrines he requested to be heard, and preaching the Trinity of the Godhead in its unity, they refused believing. The saint, plucking a trefoil, from the ground, thus expostulated with his Hibernian congregation : ' Is it not as possible for the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as for these three leaves, to grow upon a single stalk?' The Irish immediately convinced of their error, were solemnly baptized by the Saint.

Amongst various conjectures respecting the first of April, All-fools day, it is said to have begun from the mistake of Noah, in sending the dove out of the ark before the waters had abated, on the first day of the month, amongst the Hebrews, which answers to our first of April : in perpetuation of the event, whoever forgot the day was punished by being sent upon a message equally ineffectual with that which the bird of the patriarch was commissioned with.

* The following is said to be the origin of the old adage: 'If it rain on St. Swithun's Day, there will be rain more or less for forty-five succeeding days.' In the year of 865, St. Swithun, Bishop of Winchester, to which rank he was raised by King Ethelwolfe, the Dane, dying, was canonized by the then Pope. He was singular for his desire to be buried in the open church-yard, and not in the chancel of the minister, as was usual with other bishops, which request was complied with; but the monks, on his being canonized, taking it into their heads that it was disgraceful for the Saint to lie in the open church-yard, resolved to remove his body into the choir, which was to have been done with solemn procession on the 15th of July. It rained, however, so violently on that day, and for forty days succeeding, as had hardly ever been known, which made them set aside their design as heretical and blasphemous: and, instead, they erected a chapel over his grave, at which many miracles are said to have been wrought.'

St. Nicholas, whose day, the 6th of December, is kept by schoolboys, became their patron, it appears, by an Italian *Life of St. Nicholas*, 3d edit. 4to. Naples, 1645, from the following incident. The fame of the saint's virtues induced an Asiatic gentleman who was sending his two sons abroad to school, to request that they would wait on the Bishop for his benediction; on their arriving late in the evening they took up their lodging at an inn, and the landlord, to secure their effects, murdered them asleep, cut them up, and salted them, and put them, piece by piece, into a tub with some pickled pork for sale. The Bishop, seeing the whole in a vision, went to the landlord who confessed the murder, repented, and implored forgiveness; the Bishop, praying to God for the landlord's pardon, and the restoration of the boys, the pickled pieces united, and the boys finding themselves alive, fell at the Bishop's feet, and received his benediction, and was sent by him to their great joy, to prosecute their studies which had nearly received a fatal interruption.—The election of the Boy Bishop, on St. Nicholas's day, prevailed in almost every parish, and the office generally lasted until Innocent's day, the 28th of December. In cathedrals he seems to have been elected from among the children of the choir; arrayed in episcopal vestments, with a mitre and crosier, he bore the title and state of a Bishop, exacted ceremonial obedience from his fellows, who were dressed like priests, perambulating in procession, took possession of the church, and, except mass, actually performed all the ceremonies and offices. King Henry the 8th abolished this extraordinary pageant by

a proclamation thus concluding : ‘ And whereas heretofore dyvers and many superstitions and chyldish observauncis have been used, and yet to this day are observed and kept, in many and sundry partes of this Realm, as upon SAINT NICHOLAS, the Holie Innocents, and such like, children be strangelic decked and apparayled to counterfeit Priests, Bishops, and Women, and to be ledde with songes and dances from house to house, blessing the people, and gathering of money, and boyes to singe masse and preache in the pulpitt, with such other unfittinge and inconvenient useages, rather to the derysyon than anie true glorie of God, or honour of his Saynts. The Kynge’s Majestie wylleth and commaundeth that henceforth all such superstitious observations be left and clerely extinguished throwout all this Realme and Dominions.’ Women and little girls even performed service in the Church, as appears from an injunction in the year 1278, by Abp. Peckham, to the Benedictine Nunnery of Gadstowe, in Hertfordshire. Eton Montem, which is now kept at Whitsuntide, was formerly held on St. Nicholas day. It is supposed to have been a device of the Etonians to obtain the holiday which they lost by the abolition of the Boy Bishop. Dr. Davies, one of the late provosts, remembered when they used to cut a passage through the snow from Eton to Salt hill, upon which, after the arrival of the procession, the chaplain with his clerk used to read prayers, and the instant they were ended the chaplain kicked his clerk down the hill ; Her Majesty disapproving this part of the ceremony, the kicking of the clerk is now laid aside. Miss Edgworth has a very pleasing tale in her *Parents Assistant*, entitled *Eton Montem* founded on the custom.

Mumming is a Christmas sport, and consists in men and women changing cloathes and going from house to house on Christmas-Eve, particularly partaking of their neighbours cheer in disguise. It is supposed to have originated from the Sigillaria, or festival days added to the ancient saturnalia, the Citizens of London seem to have been great mummers. Stow relates a splendid mummary made by them for disport of the young Prince Richard, son to Edward the Black Prince, and afterwards King Richard the second. One hundred and thirty Citizens on the Sunday before Candlemas A. D. 1377, rode at night as mummers, representing the Pope Cardinals Legate and Knights and Esquires well horsed with music and torches to the manor of Kennington, where alighting, ‘the Prince, his Mother, and the Lords came

out of the chamber into the hall, whom the Mummers did salute; shewing, by a paire of dice upon the table, their desire to play with the young Prince, which they so handled, that the Prince did alwaies winne when he cast them. Then the Mummers set to the Prince three jewels, one after another; which were, a boule of gold, a cup of gold, and a ring of gold, which the Prince wonne at three casts. Then they set to the Prince's Mother, the Duke, the Earles, and other Lords, to every one a ring of gold, which they did also win. After which they were feasted, and the musick sounded, the Prince and Lords daunced on the one part with the Mummers, which did also dance; which jollitie being ended, they were again made to drink, and then departed in order as they came." When Henry the fourth kept his Christmas at Eltham, twelve aldermen of London and their sons, rode there a mumming.

In Devonshire a notion prevails, that at twelve o'clock at night, on old christmas eve, the oxen in their stalls are all found on their knees in the attitude of devotion. An honest countryman, living on the edge of St. Stephen's Down, near Launceston, Cornwall, informed Mr. Brand in 1790, that he, with some others, watched several oxen in their stalls at that time, and they observed the two oldest oxen only fall upon their knees, and make 'a cruel moan like christian creatures.'

Saturday afternoon was kept by our forefathers with great strictness, in preparation for the sabbath, and it is still kept by many work people to the benefit of the publicans, and the cost of their families. In what estimation Saturday was held formerly, may be inferred from an extract from a M.S. volume of sermons in the Episcopal Library at Durham.

"It is written in ye liffe of Seynt***** that he was bisi on Ester Eve before None that he made one to shave him or ye wentd doune. And the fiend aspied that: and gidrid up his heeris and whan this holi man sawe it, he conjured him and badde him tell him whi he did so. Thane said he bycause yu didest no reverence to the Sundaie and therefore thise heris wolde I kepe unto ye Day of Dome in reprofte of ye. Thane he left of all his shavying and toke the heris of the fiend and made to brene hem in his owne hand for penaunce, whiche him thought he was worth to suffre: and bode unshaven unto Monday. This is saide in reprofte of hem that worchen at Afternone on Saturdayes."

Marriage customs are illustrated by much curious extract, and anecdotes; and although little reference is had to foreign customs, in any part of the work, Mr. Brand mentions a German usage, of assailing the house door, on the day before a virgin is married: the day previous to the wedding of the present Duke of York, with the Duchess, a large heap of potsherds was formed against her Royal Highness's door, by persons throwing them at it with great violence; the Princess during this singular battery, amused herself with frequently peeping out at the door.—Wedding favours, amongst northern nations, assume the form of a knot as a symbol of the indissoluble tie of affection and duty. The knot which is the mutual present between the lover and his mistress, the emblem of fidelity, and called a true-love, or true-lover's knot, is not derived from 'true' and 'love,' as may be supposed, but from the Danish verb 'trulofa,' *fidem do, I plight my faith or troth.*

'There was formerly a custom in the North of England, which will be thought to have bordered very closely upon indecency, and strongly marks the grossness of Manners that prevailed among our ancestors: it was for the young men present at a Wedding to strive immediately after the Ceremony, who could first pluck off the Bride's Garters from her legs. This was done before the very Altar. The Bride was generally gartered with Ribbons for the occasion. Whoever were so fortunate as to be Victors in this singular species of Contest, during which the Bride was often obliged to scream out, and was very frequently thrown down, bore them about the Church in triumph.

'It is the custom in Normandy for the Bride to bestow her Garter on some young man as favour, or sometimes it is taken from her.

'In Aylets's *Divine and Moral Speculations*, 8vo, Lond. 1654, is a Copy of Verses "on sight of a most honourable Lady's *Wedding Garter*." I am of opinion that the origin of the ORDER OF THE GARTER is to be traced to this nuptial Custom, anciently common to both Court and Country.'

The custom of eating the sack-posset, when the bride and bride-groom are going to bed, we recollect is alluded to in a print, by Gilray, on occasion of the marriage of the present king and queen of Wirtemberg. A *family* procession to the bridal apartment is represented, in which Her Majesty (of England) is carrying a large posset before the royal couple.—Sewing the bride in one of the sheets, Mr. Brand mentions as 'a singular instance of

tantalizing on this festive occasion.' The account of the marriage ceremonial of Sir Philip Herbert and the Lady Susan at Whitehall, in the time of James I. says, that 'at night there was sewing in the sheet.'

Sin-eaters are a species of munners which we may suppose to be now extinct. When a person died, notice was given to the sin-eater, who repaired to the deceased's house, and some of the family bringing him a stool, he sat down facing the door; they then gave him a groat, which he put in his pocket; a crust of bread, which he ate; and a full bowl of ale, which he drank off at a draught; after this, getting up from his stool, he pronounced, with a composed gesture, 'the ease and rest of the soul departed, for which he would pawn *his own soul*.' It appears to have been a Welsh custom, and to have obtained particularly under the Presbyterian government. At Hereford a woman kept, many years before her death, a 'mazard bowl,' for the Sin-eater.

Sorcery and witchcraft have a full share of regard, and which we allude to only, to introduce a single anecdote. The first circuit which the Lord Keeper Guildford went westward, Mr. Justice Rainsford, who had gone former circuits there, went with him, and related that the year before, a witch was brought to Salisbury, and tried before him. Sir James Long came to his chamber, and made a heavy complaint against this witch, saying, 'if she escaped his estate would not be worth any thing, for all the people would go away.' The witch being acquitted, the knight was extremely concerned; the judge therefore, to save the alarmed gentleman's estate, ordered the poor woman to be kept in gaol, and that the town should allow her 2s. 6d. a week, for which the knight was very thankful. The very next assizes however, he requested the judge to let her come back to the town, for—they could keep her for eighteen pence a week there, and in the gaol she cost a shilling more!

The position of graves was a great object of concern with our forefathers; the common and honourable direction was from east to west, the dishonourable one from north to south. Old Tom Hearne the antiquary, whose name appears in a preceding article, had such correct notions on this head, that he left orders for his grave to be made straight, by a compass, due east and west; in consequence of which, 'says Mr. Brand,' his monu-

ment, which I have often seen, is placed in a direction not parallel with any of the other graves. Its being placed seemingly awry, gives it a very remarkable appearance.'

In a village in the county of Durham, it is the etiquette for a person not to go out of the house whilst a near relation is unburied. A simple countryman, whose wife lay dead, was met walking up the village, by a neighbour, who anxiously accosted him, with 'Where in heaven, John, are you going?' 'To the joiner's shop,' said melancholy John, 'to see them make my wife's coffin—it will be a little diversion for me!'

Altar worship, or bowing to the communion table, existed, and perhaps 'exists even in our times; 'a regard for impartiality, obliges me to own' says Mr. Brand, 'that I have observed this practice in college chapels, at Oxford. I hope it is altogether worn out in every other place in the kingdom; and, for the credit of that truly respectable seminary of learning, and religious truth, that it will not be retained there by the rising generation.' 'The practice of bowing at the altar,' observes Mr. Ellis, 'the editor' believes is now entirely left off at Oxford. 'That of turning to it at the repetition of the creed, is pretty generally retained, 'and certainly' he continues in a spirit which we think unlike Mr. Brand's 'has its use, in contributing very often to recall the wandering thoughts of those who attend the chapel service.'—A saying of supposed superstitious origin. 'The bishop is in the pan, or, the bishop has put his foot in it,' has been successfully illustrated by Mr. Ellis.

'It has been suggested, to the Editor, that "Bishops were in Tussers's time much in the habit of burning Heretics. The allusion is to the Episcopal disposition to burn." This is corroborated by a singular passage in Tyndale's "Obedyence of a Chrysten man," 4to. printed at Malborowe in the lands of Hesse by Hans Luft. 1528. In fol. 109, the author says; "When a thyng speadeth not well we borowe speach and saye the *Byshope hath blessed it*, because that nothyng speadeth well that they medyll wythall. If the podelch be burned to, or the meate ouer rosted, we saye the *byshope hath put his fote in the potte*, or the *byshope hath played the Coke*, BECAUSE THE BYSHOPES BURN WHO THEY LOST AND WHO SOEUBR DISPLEAETH TSEM."

Horseshoes still remain popular sells against witchcraft, and are preserved also as charms for procuring good luck.

Mr. Brand says, that, in 1797, he saw many horseshoes nailed to the thresholds in Monmouth Street, and one at the corner of Little Queen Street, Holborn; and Mr. Ellis gravely tells us that on the 26th of April, 1813, he counted no less than seventeen horseshoes in Monmouth Street, nailed against the steps of the doors;—amongst other superstitious practices, may be cited, the burning of consecrated candles in the chamber of women during labour: A rare old work, entitled “Wits, Fits and Fancies,” relates that ‘A Gentlewoman in extremitie of Labour, aware, that if it pleased God she might escape Death for that once, she would never in all her life after hazard herself to the like danger againe;’ but being at last safely delivered, she said to one of the Midwives, ‘So, now *put out the candle—and keepe it till the next time.*’ Again, respecting what Mr. Brand calls a well-known superstitious observation he quotes a singular passage from Green’s ‘Quip for an upstart Courtier,’ 4to. Lond. 1620. ‘Questioning,’ says he, ‘why these women were so cholericke, he pointed to a Bush of Nettles: Mary, quoth he, they have severally watered this bush, and the virtue of them is to force a woman that has done so, to be as peevish for a whole day, and as waspish, as if she had been stung in the brow with a hornet.’ Mr. B. conjectures that this must have referred to a curious method of detecting the loss of female honour, noticed in ‘Naturall and Artificiall Conclusions, by Thomas Hill,’ 8vo. Lond. 1650. ‘I have however,’ says he, ‘heard this accounted for otherwise; from females having been stung with nettles in the attitude of the sex, on a certain occasion, called in the glossary to Douglas’s Virgil ‘couring, ut Mulieres solent ad mingendum.’

The custom which still prevails of presenting nosegays and flowers at weddings being appropriately treated, we were somewhat disappointed on not finding them mentioned as having been used at executions. This ceremony, when performed at Tyburn, was never considered complete, or decorously conducted, unless the criminal was carried in the cart with a prayer book in one hand, and a nosegay in the other; sometimes the nosegay was substituted by an orange, and latterly innovation extended itself even to the gallows; the nosegay was gradually discontinued at Tyburn, and has not, we believe, ever appeared on the new drop.

As Mr. Brand has allotted a place to the 29th of May, or Royal Oak day, we naturally looked for the 30th of

January, Decapitation day, which, however, is not even named. On the former occasion, he relates, with other instances of celebration, his recollection of the boys, when they met a person, without oak leaves in their hats, insulting them with this taunting rhyme,

‘ Royal Oak
The Whigs to provoke ;’

which was retorted by others, wearing plane-leaves, in lines equally homely :—

‘ Plane-tree leaves ;
The Church-folk are thieves.’

There is no reason to think that our assiduous compiler was ignorant, indeed we know that he was not, of the Calve’s-Head Club, formerly held on the 30th of January ; and therefore, we are at a loss to account for his not alluding to the usage. At this time even, the day is commemorated according to the tastes of a certain number of individuals, of each party. One regards it as a solemn fast, instituted on the martyrdom of a kingly saint, and repairs to church with due gravity ; another regards it as the anniversary of the death of a royal traitor, who aspired to govern without law, and celebrates the day, by dining off a calf’s-head, with an orange in his mouth ; and drinking to the memory of king William, the Patriots of 1688, and the Principles of the Revolution.

On the term ‘ Cockney,’ much industry is bestowed, and with little success. Mr. Douce supposes it to have been an expression of fondness, or affection towards male children, as ‘ Piggsnie,’ a very ancient word of our tongue, is used to a woman,

‘ She was a Primerole, a Piggesnie
For anie Lord to ligen in his bedde
Or yet for any good yeman to wedde.’

CHAUCER,

We incline to think that it was applied to, and designated a young man, or, a young serving man. In this sense, it appears to us to have been used in the ‘ Tournament of

Tottenham, or the wooing, winning, and wedding, of Tibbe, the recu's daughter there.'

'At that Feast were they served in rich aray :

Euery fine and fine had a Cockeny.

And so they sat in iollity, all the long day.

Tibbe at night, I trowe, had a simple aray ;

Mickle mirth was them a mong, &c.'

We must here conclude. To do justice to this work, would be to gratify curiosity which we rather desire to excite, than allay. It would be easy to say, and it would be easy to prove, that a few of the articles are unnecessarily laboured, and that other few, have been treated at less length, and with less research than they ought : but considerably more has been done than we expected, and we should have no right to complain, if there had not been so much. The book is a monument of the learning, and industry of the author, and will not diminish the reputation of the Editor. Its respectable appearance and price, for it is really, in these times, cheap, are creditable to the liberality of the booksellers, and the press of the printers.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE.

POLITICS.

ART. 8.—*Of Buonaparte, and The Bourbons, and of the necessity of rallying round our legitimate Princes for the happiness of France, and that of Europe.* By F. A. De Chateaubriand; Octavo. pp. 87. 4s. Colburn. 1814.

THE newspapers have already made our readers acquainted with a great part of the contents of this Pamphlet; of course they know that it is an eloquent rhapsody against Buonaparte, after the Allies had conquered Paris, in favour of the Bourbons who were expected to follow them. It is exactly what might have been expected from the pen of M. Chateaubriand.

ART. 9.—*A Narrative of the Battle of Hanau, and other Events connected with the Retreat of the French Army, from Leipzig to the Rhine; forming a continuation of the Narrative of the Battle of Leipzig.* By an eye witness. Octavo. pp. 93. 4s. 6d. James Cawthorn. 1814.

A spirited Narrative by no friend to the fallen Emperor related however with much impartiality, and interspersed with Anecdotes. The Official Reports of General Wrede, and Field Marshal Count Fresnel; and the Frankfort Gazette account are annexed.

THEOLOGY.

ART. 10.—*An Original View of the Night of Treason; shewing in this night when the Rebellious Jews rejected the truth that Pilate was a traitor to Cæsar! Judas guilty of the most complicate treachery; and that Peter, after the three denials, according to a distant prediction, three times apostatized.* By the Rev. Frederic Thurston, M. A. Octavo. pp. 284. 8s. Longman and Co. 1814.

IF the art of amplification is a peculiar study with Theologians, Mr. Thurston is not behind his reverend brethren in acquirement on equally interesting subjects, we have often been wearied by it, and from the title page above, we did not expect to be exempted from the customary tax upon our patience. In proceeding however through our author's disquisition, we were interested beyond our hopes, and those readers who are fond of minute enquiry into biblical subjects, will be equally gratified with ourselves. Mr. Thurston displays much critical ability, and justness of thinking, expressed with considerable eloquence; and, it is not with us a small recommendation, that his sentiments are manly, and his piety rational.

ART. 11.—*A Dissertation on the Magi, who came to adore the New-born Jesus, and the Star which directed their way.* By James Clarke Franks, of Trinity College. Octavo. pp. 98. 3s. Longman and Co. 1814.

THIS is the Hulsean Prize Dissertation for 1813, and considering how much the subject has agitated the learned, and the pious Mr. Franks has acquitted himself with credit. The Tract bespeaks great research:—aware of the danger of deciding where

so many have doubted and differed, the author, when his acumen has not afforded him views beyond his predecessors, hesitates with becoming diffidence.

ART. 12.—*An Easy and Practical Explanation of the Church Catechism*: intended chiefly for the use of Sunday, and other Parochial Schools. By the Rev. Harvey Marriott, Rector of Claverton. 12mo. pp. 54. Taylor and Hessey. 1814.

WE do not know whether this explanation of the Catechism is adopted in the 'national' system of education, but it is dedicated to Dr. Bell, and it is not likely that a better can be written. It is superior in plainness of illustration to every other that we have seen, and if the catechism is to be taught, perhaps this little Tract will give the children of churchmen more clear ideas, than a longer treatise.

ART. 13.—*A Letter to the London Society, for promoting Christianity among the Jews*: containing strictures on the Letter of a Jewish Correspondent. By the author of 'Remarks on David Levis' Dissertations on the Prophecies respecting the Messiah.' Octavo. pp. 31. Gale and Co. 1814.

VERY interesting no doubt to the Jew Converters:—very little interesting we believe to any one else. We strongly suspect, that amongst the most strenuous of these gentlemen who expect to profit in other than spiritual ways, by a closer communion with their brethren, of the tribe of Israel. At present however, the Jews have the best of it. Ever since they borrowed the Jewels of the Egyptians, which we never heard of their having returned, they have been remarkable for facility in raising the supplies, and in 'deeping' the gentiles; and, notwithstanding the good intentions of some of their present christian friends who are incapable of sordid views, we have no doubt that the Jews will beat the christians at the game of conversion. If by their fruits we can know them, we say that upon the minds of some of these Jew-converters, who are not Jews outwardly, the sincere brethren may attempt the operation of circumcision. We wish them success.

ART. 14.—*The increase, influence, and stability of un-established religion*, no cause of alarm to established Christians: being a reply to Archdeacon Nares's charge "on the Influence of the Sectaries, and the Stability of the Church." By Jacob Stanley. Octavo, pp. 67. Blanshard. 1813.

Mr. Archdeacon Nares is a gentleman who would have been a 'cynosure' in the Established Church, during the period between the reign of King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary. His influence would have ensured many 'burning and shining lights,' amongst the Nonconformists of that day. By some accident he appeared at least two centuries and a half beyond his time, and unfortunately for him in all respects, except his Archdeaconry, &c. the 'good old times' will never return. If he has any doubt of this, Mr. Stanley, who writes like a man of sense may assist in removing his scepticism. We assure Mr. Nares that we think *him* no 'fool' and Mr. Stanley's pamphlet proves that *he* is not one.

ART. 15.—*The Claims of Dr. Priestley in the controversy with Bishop Horsley, restated and vindicated* in reply to the animadversions of the Reverend Heneage Horsley, Prebendary of St. Asaph; annexed to the late republication of his father's tracts, dedicated, by permission, to the Prince Regent. By Thomas Belsham. Octavo. pp. 115. 4s. Johnson and Co. 1814.

MR. BELSHAM'S nerve appears undiminished; and were the Reverend Prebendary inclined to a meeting in the open field, the Essex Street champion seems to be as ready to stand up to him, as Dr. Priestley was to engage his father.

ART. 16.—*A Plea for Unitarian Dissenters*: in a letter of expostulation, to the Rev. H. H. Norris, M. A. on that part of his late work against the Hackney Auxiliary Bible Society, which relates to Unitarians. By Robert Aspland, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Hackney. Octavo. pp. 139. 4s. 6d. Johnson and Co. 1814.

MR. ASPLAND has long been known as an able disputant for the Unitarians, and as having managed his controversies with temper and gentlemanly feeling. In these respects he has evidently the advantage of Mr. Norris, who writes as if an 'act of uniformity,' were on the eve of passing, and he expected a consequent opportunity of turning Dissenters into Churchmen. Now we hesitate not to say that to the Church of such a Churchman, we would not go at all; and this we say with precisely the same feeling, that numbers of Churchmen subscribed the petitions to parliament, against Lord Sidmouth's parlia-

mentary measure, to shackle the Dissenters a few years ago. There would have been little occasion for new churches, had the measure been carried: Lord Sidmouth saw this and dropped it. His Lordship would have turned thousands of churchmen into Dissenters. The days for such doings are over.

POETRY.

ART. 17.—*Six Engravings by H. Thielcke*, after the designs of Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth, with illustrations in verse. Quarto. pp. 38. R. Ackermann. 1813.

THE Princess Elizabeth draws very prettily; Mr. Thielcke engraves very prettily; and, as Mr. Bulmer prints very prettily, the poems read very prettily.

ART. 18.—*Poems*, by Frederick Thornhill, Esq. 12mo. pp. 131. 5s. Sherwood and Co. 1814.

THIS elegant little volume will give many a languishing youth an opportunity of recalling the charms of his beloved to remembrance. The poems are mostly amatory, and addressed to Rosas, and Julias, and Sylvas, and Stellas, and ladies of various denominations; between whom we presume (from their number) and Mr. Thornhill, 'the purple light of love' flamed 'many a time and oft.' As a specimen, we cite the following, not because it is the best, but for its brevity.

' *To a Lady.*

* *Moniti meliori sequamur.*

VIRG.

* While others drain the sparkling bowl,
And listen to the wanton jest,
Brasting the exquisite controul,
Of Folly's pow'r to make them blest;

* Let us exchange the secret sigh,
And touch by stealth the trembling hand;
And whisper with the glancing eye,
What none but us can understand.

* Oh! what sweet thoughts do sighs proclaim!
Oh! what expression in a touch!
And then the look—the look of flame!
'Tongues cannot utter half so much.'

"Our limits will not allow us to extract lines 'on seeing a lady with a little boy in her arms,' they are very beautiful. If Mr. Thornhill is a young man and goes on loving, and liking, and has a good deal of leisure, it is own fault if he is not a poet.

ART. 19.—*The Poetical Works of Richard Hatt, Author of the "Hermit," &c. including Supplementary Poems; with a letter to the Rev. John Sim, A. B. Second edition. f. 8vo. pp. 120. 5s. 6d. Westley and Parish. 1814.*

MR. HATT'S muse is in general plaintive. The following have much pathos.

'Elegiac Stanza.

'My Julia sleeps the sleep of death,
Whilst here I moan with life oppress;
My parted dear, with faltring breath,
When shall my woes and sorrows rest?

Not till I, love, like thee, am blest,
Can e'er my heart its throbbing cease;
Nor till thy image shines confest
In heaven—where all is joy and peace!

Within thy mouldring, silent tomb,
Be mine—my best and last recess,
Where o'er our heads the flowers will bloom
And kiss in love, and twine in bliss!

Yes, Julia! we shall meet above,
And I shall know that angel form,
That thou and I may taste that love
Which earth denied two hearts so warm!"

We fear that the tone of his verses may have originated in misfortune, he had intended to increase the size of the volume; 'my lyre,' says he, 'was taken up with as much zeal as necessary for the occasion, but for obvious reasons—the want of means, fell unenjoyed from my hand at the end of the sixth sheet; some of the poems were contributed by friends.

ART. 20.—*Bonaparte; a Poem. Octavo, 1s. 6d. Murray. 1814.*

This is one of the many poetical tributes of congratulation on the recent happy, and unexpected termination of a contest, which involved the fate of the most enlightened division of the globe. The strain is elegant, and in places vigorous, recapitulating with considerable effect, all the popular causes for exultation, which the unequivocal fall of

a dire and inveterate foe, is so calculated to suggest. One of the most obvious inconsistencies in this, as in almost every other poem on the same subject, is the making that being cowardly and contemptible, for whose overthrow all the world is called upon to rejoice. This is extremely injudicious, and arises from an eagerness to crowd every bad quality into the same sombre portrait, whether contemptible or not:—a mode of treating the subject, the less called for, because there is plenty of shade without it. We wish our poets could be brought to admit that Buonaparte has exhibited some great qualities, because, with that allowance, his dark and merciless cruelty, his base and unprincipled perfidy, his restless and insatiable ambition, could be painted with double force and congruity. As it is, one half of their effusions forget the other, as for instance; the following very just and beautiful lines, are addressed in one part of this poem to a man, which another part describes as a nerveless and heartless runaway.

'Oft, to thy shudd'ring sight shall Memory rear
The blood-stain'd vision of thy dread career;
And as the years in mock procession pass,
A dismal pageant! o'er the crowded glass,
Point to that hour, when yet in youth's fair morn,
Ere man and thou to quenchless hate were sworn,
The thrones of Europe bow'd before thy fame,
And France receiv'd thee with a saviour's name.

'Oh! then had wisdom's better voice prevail'd,
What grateful millions had the triumph hail'd!
A world's applause had cheer'd the warrior's way;
And Virtue's self approv'd his healing sway.

'But no!—To sooth the sorrows of an age,
The pangs of bleeding empires to assuage,
To share with Heaven the blessings of mankind,
He deem'd a task to feebler souls assign'd;
Enough for Him, that strength was in his hand,
And fortune sanction'd what Ambition plann'd.'

We very much apprehend that the effervescence of national triumph must subside before poetry can exercise itself with effect on Buonaparte. Strings of superlatives, whether in praise or condemnation sound, but say nothing. A ray of light is required to render 'darkness visible,' and we will venture to predict, that the poet, wherever he may be, will succeed best in carrying a forcible expression of the hateful and the horrible, in the character of Napoleon, who must attend to the striking energies and qualifications he has so miserably misapplied.

ART. 21.—*Small Literary Patchwork*: or a collection of miscellaneous pieces, in prose and verse, written on various occasions, chiefly on moral and interesting subjects; by Anne Clarke, A lover of her country. Second edition. pp. 130. 7s. 6d. Nicholls, Son and Bentley. 1814.

'A village muse!'—she claims no higher fame, and this our fair author certainly has. She is a correspondent of *Sylvanus Urban*, and appears to have caught somewhat of the manner of the worthy editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*; roaming from subject to subject at perfect ease; now 'Extempore verses on the death of Mr. Pitt;' next 'the rats, mice, and cat, a fable;' then 'Sappho's sorrows;' and 'some account of Mr. John Wesley, with one of his wills.' The 'biographical sketch of the writer's father,' is truly in the manner of the author of 'literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century.' Mr. Clarke 'was a clerk in the tax office nearly forty years had he not been loyal to the king, he would not have been a fit person for his Majesty's service so long: but he did serve him faithfully; he died 'a veteran at his post'—actually examining the duplicates of the tax papers that they might be returned in due time! Take an extract or two from his memorandum book; '7th July. cut cucumbers exactly ten weeks from the seed. 13th. gathered kidney beans very plenty. 6th. Oct. stood God father to my great grand daughter Mary Ann Wilkins'—Miss or Mrs., we do not know which, Ann Clarke, is, we have no doubt, a lady every way worthy the esteem of her friends, and we recommend her to the patronage of the admirers of 'fugitive biography, and miscellanea.'

ART. 22.—*Woburn-Abbey Georgics*; or the last gathering. A Poem in four Cantos; Canto III. and IV. Octavo. pp. 48. Chapple. 1813.

Much good laughter, at serious attempts at agricultural improvement.

ART. 23.—*Love of Fame*, a Satire. Octavo. pp. 29. Sherwood, and Co. 1814.

This Satire was penned 'with a design to distinguish between true and false glory,' and to expose him who mistakes the misapplication of talents for fame; 'had Homer,' says the author, 'chosen such a theme for his muse, Alexander would never have wept over the tomb of Achilles; because there was no Homer to celebrate his crimes.' Buonaparte is the chief personage of the Poem, which we are informed was ready for the press in last November. The writer displays great talent for poetical composition, his thoughts and his lines are alike vigorous, and there is a rich vein of good sense and orpaetical truth in his satire.

ART. 24.—*The Exile of Elba*: a Poem on the Downfall of Buonaparte and his Dynasty; with the Deliverance: an Ode, portraying the Principal Events of the year 1814. By John Gwilliam. Octavo. pp. 54. 3s. R. Jennings.

Mr. Gwilliam writes with considerable force, but—we are obliged to say, but—like poets in general, is much given to exaggeration. Buonaparte having been sent to Elba, Mr. Gwilliam says:

‘ Now let us view him in his last retreat—
No slave to flatter—not a friend to greet—
No soul to aid him, or his loss deplore—
How diff’rent this—to what he was before!’

We think that, as to the slaves, Buonaparte's being without them, is to his advantage; and that, as to friends, and having no one to aid him or deplore his loss, he has friends in France and at Elba who will do both. Comparisons are odious, but we suspect the day is not very distant when the French will begin to compare all the virtues of the Bourbons, with all the vices of Buonaparte; and that they may think there is no very great difference between being ruled by a knave, and one who is not a great many removes from a character very opposite. We shall be mistaken too if our old royal guest will not give rise to complaints here, in quarters, where he has been landed to loathing, that we are not quite so well favoured as we ought to be in the new commercial, as well as political arrangements. It is not likely that the French will ever recall Buonaparte; but, as matters have proceeded, since the non-acceptance of the constitution, upon which Louis was permitted to return, it is not an impossible event that in due time the latter may find it convenient to travel. It is said that ‘experience makes fools wise,’—we think there are exceptions to the remark.

ART. 25.—*Hymn of Thanksgiving*, on the occasion of our late Victories, and for other signal national mercies and deliverances. By the Rev. J. Whitehouse. Octavo, pp. 19. Hatchard, 1814.

‘ Thanksgiving and praise to God be given,
Who does what he wills in earth and heaven,’
says the Reverend Mr. Whitehouse, to which we say—Amen!—
Respecting his Majesty, he enquires:

‘ Has he not oft had cause to own
Thy fatherly protection?’

To which we answer the Rev. Mr. Whitehouse—Yes.——But this is not Poetry.

NOVELS.

ART. 27.—*Things by their Right Names*; a Novel. By the Author of "Plain Sense," and "Disobedience," second edition. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 506. 12s. G. and S. Robinson, 1814.

Of the common run of novels we are sick, positively sick. When we do meet therefore, with something a little out of the way, we get refreshed; by the present we have been enlivened a great deal. 'Things by their right Names,' is very superior to Novels in general, and, were we not precluded by the length of one or two important articles, in the earlier part of this number, we should extract from it. We recommend it to general perusal,

ART. 28.—*The Victim of Intolerance*; or, the Hermit of Killarney. A Catholic Tale. By Robert Torrens, Major in the Royal Marines. 4 vols. 12mo. pp. 928. 20s. Gale and Co. 1814.

Major Torrens is familiar to us from the venality of his talents. At one time we meet him as a Political Economist, at another time we recognize him as a writer on Reform in Parliament, and we have, on more than one occasion had the pleasure of an acquaintanceship with him as the Author of a Novel. *The Victim of Intolerance* is highly creditable to his patriotism and the affections of his heart; and we sincerely trust that this pleasing endeavour to produce amongst his countrymen liberality of sentiment on one hand, and moderation and tranquillity on the other, will be successful.

ART. 29.—*The Splendour of Adversity*: A domestic Story. 12mo. 3 Vols. pp. 860. 15s. Crosby, 1814.

'Black-Rock House, The Winter in Bath, Corinna of England, the Dead Letter Office,' and other productions have already made the author of this article known to the ladies and gentlemen, for whose especial amusement the multitude of modern novels, with which the press teems, have been provided—the *Splendour of Adversity* will not only add to their entertainment, but, which unfortunately can be said of very few recent novels, amend the heart. The characters of Saverland and Mallows, a pious conscientious parish priest and an obstinate flinty hearted farmer—are drawn with much feeling and judgment. This novel is a very respectable attempt to call novel readers back to a love of truth and nature; if it does not succeed the fault must be with those for whose improvement the *Splendour of Adversity* is designed.

EDUCATION.

ART. 30.—*The Promoter of Expedition and Ease. An engraved Ciphering Book, on a new plan; containing 532 examples in the first five rules, of Arithmetic, with blanks left to be filled up, to vary the answers; carefully arranged on an extremely easy gradation; by which the Tutor is relieved, and the progress of the Pupil greatly facilitated. Designed for the use of Schools, and for young Ladies and private Teachers. By Thomas Harvey, Writing-Master and Land-Surveyor, Hford, Essex. Quarto. Half bound, 4s. 6d. Key to ditto 1s. Soaster. 1814.*

THE saving of time in teaching is not more desirable to the teacher than advantageous to the pupil. It enables the one to devote his attention more exclusively to his object, and facilitates the progress of the other in his learning. Mr. Harvey's Ciphering Book is beyond compare, the best that we have seen; it is equally adapted to the largest schools, to private tutors, and to parents who teach their own children. By the application of a very simple principle, which a teacher will learn in an hour from the Key, a single glance of the eye can determine whether a sum is right or not. The pupil himself transcribes his sum from the engraved sum in the copy book, and, in most instances, the tutor is merely required to add a single figure only, in order to vary the sums to any extent. By these means, 532 sums may be worked, and the entries made by the scholar in the ciphering book, without the teacher setting the sum, either in the ciphering-book or on the slate, and without the customary examination. Thus time is surprisingly economised, and as the ciphering book contains much more than treble the quantity of sums which are entered into the usual school ciphering books, there is considerable saving in expence as well. As Mr. Harvey's ciphering book cannot fail of recommending itself, it will secure its own adoption by every one, who, desirous of saving time, labour, and money, will take the trouble to examine it.

ART. 31.—*An Abridgment of a Grammar of the English Language for the use of the junior classes. By John Grant, A. M. 18mo. p.p. 106. Sherwood and Co. 1813.*

A judicious Abridgment including questions for the examination of the pupil.

ART 32.—*A Key to the Exercises of Grant's Grammar of the English Language*: with notes and explanations. Intended chiefly for private learners, or such persons as are their own Instructors. By the Author of the Grammar, 12mo. pp. 98. Sherwood and Co. 1814.

Mr. GRANT has taken considerable pains with this Key to the Exercises on his Grammar, and criticised some of Mr. L. Murray's positions, with much acumen and success.

ART 33.—*Exercises on the Etymology, Syntax, Idioms, and Synonyms of the Spanish Language*. By L. J. A. Mc. Henry, a native of Spain. 12mo. pp. 128. 4s. Sherwood and Co. 1814.

These exercises are adapted to the Spanish Grammar, published by Mr. Mc. Henry, which was favourably noticed in *The Critical Review*, for July 1812. The Exercises on the Colloquial Idioms, and Synonyms are novel, and of much advantage to the learner.

ART 34.—*Travels at Home, and Voyages by the Fireside*; for the instruction and entertainment of young persons. 2 vols. pp. 432. 6s. Half bound. R. Rees. 1814.

With maps and globes, aided by this little work, young persons may travel for knowledge at home, and make voyages of discovery by the fire-side. The two present volumes are extended to Europe only; two others are to follow, including Asia in one, and Africa and America in the other. Our young travellers are supposed to have a bird's eye view of every country, and are made acquainted with particulars respecting each; these give rise to various reflections, and opportunities of discussing certain other points, important for children to know. In this way, entertainment is blended with instruction, and the juvenile auditor learns the manners and customs of different states. As we have not often met with equally useful works, we recommend this to the notice of those who have the care of young people.

MEDICINE.

ART 35.—*Facts and Observations relative to the Fever commonly called Puerperal*. By John Armstrong, M. D. Octavo. pp. 175. 8s. 6d. Longman and Co. 1814.

Copious Venesection and purging are the remedies on which Dr. Armstrong chiefly depends for relief, in Puerperal Fever; under this treatment, he has usually found his patients convalescent on the fourth or fifth day, and that they regain their health rapidly afterwards.

MISCEL LANEOUS.

ART. 36.—*Proverbs chiefly taken from the Adagia of Erasmus, with explanations; and further illustrated by corresponding examples from the Spanish, Italian, French, and English Languages.* By Robert Bland, M. D. F. S. A. 2 Vols. cr. octavo p.p. 156. 12s. Egerton. 1814.

The *Adagia* of Erasmus, from which Dr. Bland has selected most of the Proverbs in this collection, is a rich store-house of Proverbial Learning; and, it is remarkable, that the Doctor's is the first attempt that we know of, to transmit any considerable portion to the notice of the English Reader. What Dr. B. has done, is done well, and deserves our thanks; we wish he had done more; that he had not left the task of translating the *Adagia* to another hand. This we are persuaded, will not long remain a desideratum. Dr. Bland's exposition bespeaks knowledge of the world, habits of cool reflection, and amenity of mind.

ART. 37.—*C[h]alcographiana: The Printsellers Chronicle and Collectors Guide to knowledge and value of engraved British Portraits.* By James Caulfield. Octavo. pp. 171. 16s. Caulfield. 1814.

The author of *this* work, is a well known print dealer, every way qualified to obtain and impart knowledge respecting the value of portraits, is very angry at having been suspected 'if not the writer of *C[h]alcographimania*, in part accessory to the publication thereof.' Bad company has been many a man's undoing, and we advise Mr. Caulfield not to keep bad company. We think the magistrate exercised a sound discretion in not suffering him to swear. 'Swear not at all' Mr. Caulfield. Lawyers say that it is possible for a man to be an accessory *before* the fact. We advise Mr. Caulfield to 'purge and live cleanly, and keep good company.'

Mr. Caulfield in his present work renders an acceptable service to Print Collectors, by acquainting them with the present value of the scarcest British portraits engraved by the Passes, Delarum, Elstracke, Payne, Vaughan, Faithorne, Hollar, Graywood, Loggum, R. White, &c. This he has done by classing the portraits after a short biographical sketch of each artist, with the price affixed to each print; annexing, by way of notes, many interesting facts as to the different states of certain plates with some curious anecdotes of Book and Print collectors and various personages in the 'Portrait Fanny.' We perceive from the list of subscribers annexed, that all the copies printed are disposed of. We are glad to find that Mr. Caulfield has turned the extensive knowledge, which he unquestionably possesses, to a profitable account.

ART. 38.—*The Complete Weather Guide*, a collection of practical observations for prognosticating the weather; drawn from plants, animals, inanimate bodies, and also by means of philosophical instruments; including the shepherd of Banbury's Rules, explained on philosophical principles, with an appendix of miscellaneous observations on meteorology, a curious botanical clock, &c. &c. &c. By Joseph Taylor. 12mo. pp. 165. 6s. J. Harding. 1813.

The title fully explains the objects of this curious and useful little volume, in which is brought together a large mass of facts and instructions properly classed and rendered easy of reference by a sufficiently copious index.

ART. 39.—*Instructions to Young Sportsmen*, with directions for the choice, care, and management of guns; and instructions for shooting wild fowl. To which is added a concise abridgment of the game laws, &c. Octavo. pp. 156. Johnson and Co. 1814.

HAD we been in the humour, as we sometimes have been, before we saw this book, to fall in with the declaration of the wise man that 'there is nothing new under the sun,' we should now suspend our opinion; for we have met with a great deal in these instructions to young sportsmen, entirely new to us, notwithstanding we have waded over various sportsmen's guides and shooters directories. This little work is so original, and bespeaks so much practical experience of the subjects on which it treats, and such thorough sportsmanlike knowledge, that we unfeignedly recommend it to our sporting readers.

ART. 40.—*A Hebrew, Latin and English Dictionary*: containing; I. All the Hebrew and Chaldee words used in the Old Testament, including the proper names, arranged under the one alphabet, with the derivatives referred to their respective roots, and the signification, in Latin and English, according to the best authorities. II. The principal words in the Latin and English languages, with those which correspond to them in Hebrew. By Joseph Samuel C. F. Frey. Part I, Octavo. 8s. Royal Octavo. 12s. pp. 128. Gale and Co.

MR. FREY'S Hebrew dictionary is noticed now, merely to intimate that we shall not fail to examine it with the attention its importance and utility merit when its publication is completed.

ART. 41.—*Letters addressed to two absent Daughters*. By Mrs. Rundell. Fc. Octavo. pp. 302. 6s. R. Rees. 1814.

These letters do not relate merely to conduct, but they are replete with sensible remarks upon situations and circumstances to which mere didactic epistles would scarcely allude. They appear the result of accurate observation and a rational appreciation of the good and

evil, in our 'mortal coil,' and well calculated to strongly interest a well disposed mind is: the practice of the higher virtues and charity of life. We could not help wishing that our perusal had been assisted by a table of contents. We hope a second edition will enable the amiable authoress to add this.

ART. 42.—*Some Account of the proposed improvements of the Western part of London*, by the formation of the new street, the new sewer, &c. &c. illustrated by plans, and accompanied by critical observations. Octavo. pp. 185. Reynolds. 1814.

Considerable objections are urged in this 'treatise,' to the proposed line of communication between Pall-Mall, and the New Road. Many of them appear to us of considerable weight, and to the accuracy of the remarks, as to the paucity of information before the public, concerning the proposed purposes of the Regents Park, we bear ready testimony. We are now almost wholly excluded from our healthful Sunday walk, to Primrose Hill, North End, and Kilburn, and are not assured even of receiving any equivalent for such a privation. This work should be perused by every one interested, however recently, in the alterations now making.

ART. 43.—*The Art of Preserving the Sight* unimpaired, to an extreme old age; and of re-establishing and strengthening it when it becomes weak: with instructions how to proceed in accidental cases, which does not require the assistance of professional men, and the mode of treatment proper for the eyes, during, and immediately after the small pox. To which are added; observations on the inconvenience and dangers arising from the use of common spectacles, &c. &c. By an experienced Oculist. 12mo. pp. 250. 4s. 6d. Colburn. 1814.

AN oculist of considerable experience is evidently the author of this little work, which persons afflicted with those complaints of the eye, on which it treats, will do well to consult. It is familiarly written, printed with a comfortable looking type, and cheaply priced.

ART. 45.—*The King (on the Prosecution of Viscountess Perceval) against John Mitford Esq. for Perjury*.—A correct report of this interesting and extraordinary Trial, which took place in the Court of King's Bench, Guildhall, on Thursday, the 24th February, 1814, before the Right Hon. the Lord Ellenborough. Together with notes, observations, and original letters, addressed by Mr. and Mrs. Mitford, to Viscountess Perceval, materially illustrating the origin of this prosecution. Octavo. pp. 166. 8s. J. J. Stockdale, 1814.

The title will acquaint the reader with Lord Ellenborough's mode of reviewing. It is not safe to review a Reviewer who is a Lord Chief Justice with a bad temper. We content ourselves with rapping our snuff-box and taking a pinch of 'blackguard,'—which tobaccoists now retail under the name of 'Ellenborough.'

LIST OF BOOKS.

NOTE.—bd. signifies *bound*—h. bd. *half-bound*—sd. *sewed*. The rest are, with few exceptions, in *boards*. ed. signifies *edition*—n. ed. *new edition*.

ABERNETHY (J.) on Mr. Hunter's Theory of Life, 8vo. 4s. 6d.

Aiton's (W. T.) Epitome of the Hortus Kewensis, cr. 8vo. 12s.—with references, 16s.

Alison's (A.) L. L. B. Sermons, 8vo.

Anderson's (D.) Account of Canada, 8vo. 10s. 6d.

Arminius, a Tragedy, by C. Knight, 8vo. 4s.

Ayton's (R.) Voyage round Great Britain, in the Summer of 1813, from the Land's End, Cornwall, with Views of the Coast, drawn and engraved by W. Daniell, F.R.A. Nos. 1, to IV, 30s. 6d. each.

Barry and Son's Catalogue of Rare, Curious, and Valuable Books, on Sale at Bristol. No. I.

Belsham's (T.) Claims of Dr. Priestley in the Controversy with Bishop Horsley restated and vindicated, in Reply to the Rev. H. Horsley.

Billake's (J.) D. D. Poems, 3d ed. cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d.

Bond's (E. F.) Letters of a Village Governess, 2 vols. 8vo. 18s.

Brewster's Encyclopædia, Vol. 7, Part 2, 11. 1s.

Bridal of Triermain, 4th ed. 12mo. 7s. 6d.

Britton's (J.) F. S. A. History and Antiquities of Salisbury Cathedral, No. 1. 4to. 12s. imp. 4to. 20s. cr. fo. 11. 11s. 6d. sup. r. fo. 2l. 2s.

— Rights of Literature, 8vo. 3s.

Brown's (R.) Principles of Practical Perspective, by the most easy and simple methods, with Instructions for Shading and Colouring. Roy. 4to. Part I. 10s. 6d.

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We are obliged to MR. HOLSTEIN for his polite letter, and inform him that neither of the works he mentions have been received by our present Editor, who entered on his department after the recent change of proprietors.

Our correspondent, who signs W. MOODY, and dates from Lincolnshire is referred to the 'Advertisement' at the end of the January number, and to the 'Correspondence' at the end of our February number, for the only information we can give him respecting our present Editor; and, to the numbers published since, for the sentiments and tone of the CRITICAL REVIEW.